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ABSTRACT

In 1951, the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor and 6 of its member organizations sponsored a research project designed to provide a factual, objective basis for plans and programs to improve the educational opportunities and experience of migratory agricultural workers' children. The project extended from July 1, 1952 to December 31, 1953 with field work confined largely from January to June 1953. Four study centers were selected: "Glades" area, Palm Beach County, Florida; Northampton County, Virginia; Seguin Independent School District, Guadalupe County, Texas; and Hoopeston-Milford-Rossville School Districts, Vermilion and Iroquois Counties, Illinois. Field work consisted of interviews with migrant families, teachers, principals, and other informed persons; securing transcripts of the child's school records; and meetings and discussions with local groups. This report discusses the study; a migrant pupil testing program involving 428 children in the Florida study center; and a 6-week experimental school for migrant children near Waupun, Wisconsin during the summer of 1953. It also reviews other major studies on migrant education conducted since 1935. (NQ)

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THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

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A Study of the Educational Opportunities and Experiences of Agricultural Migrants

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL
LIFE AND LABOR

Published by
THE DEPARTMENT OF RURAL EDUCATION, NEA

THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

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THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

A Study of the Educational Opportunities and Experiences of the Children of Agricultural Migrants

SHIRLEY E. GREENE
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NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
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Foreword

EQUALITY OF educational opportunity is an accepted American ideal. But there is a hiatus between profession and performance. The quality and amount of schooling received by several million children are below the accepted American standard of the equal chance. Among these millions are several hundred thousand children who follow the crops.

The study reported here is a forthright effort to find the facts concerning the education of one of the most disadvantaged groups of children in American life, the children of migratory agricultural workers, and to initiate a program of action that will at least alleviate some of their worst handicaps. It is not a cure-all for a poignantly important and complex economic and social problem. It is primarily an enterprise in cooperation with responsible local and state people to improve the educational opportunities of children in most need of attention.

What is said here is in no sense a disparagement of the goodwill and the efforts of the local citizens and school personnel who have direct responsibility for the education of these disadvantaged children. Those local people face not merely a theory but a real and complicated condition. They have welcomed the opportunity to discover ways and means of realizing the worthy ideals they accept. They need the understanding, cooperation and assistance of the people of other communities, and of their state and national governments.

Among the needs pointed up in this study that give direction to future action are: more adequate attendance supervision; special "helping teachers"; opportunity rooms; some teachers who speak the language of foreign-language groups; more and better health examinations, inspections and services; additional classrooms; special instruction in the use of the English language, especially oral English; more attention to personal hygiene, grooming, and manners; activities that increase the migrant's sense of belonging, self-respect and confidence; emphasis on the contributions of various cultural groups to American life; and the offering of better adapted general and technical vocational education.

Reverend Shirley E. Greene, the author of this article, is an ordained minister in the Congregational Christian denomination, with training and experience in social research. At the time he was directing this study of education of migrant children, he was employed as Agricultural Relations Secretary of the Congregational Christian Council for Social Action. He is presently the Director of Inter-group Relations of the National Farmers Union.

I commend this report to all people of goodwill.

HOWARD A. DAWSON,
Executive Secretary
Department of Rural Education,
National Education Association,
Washington, D. C.

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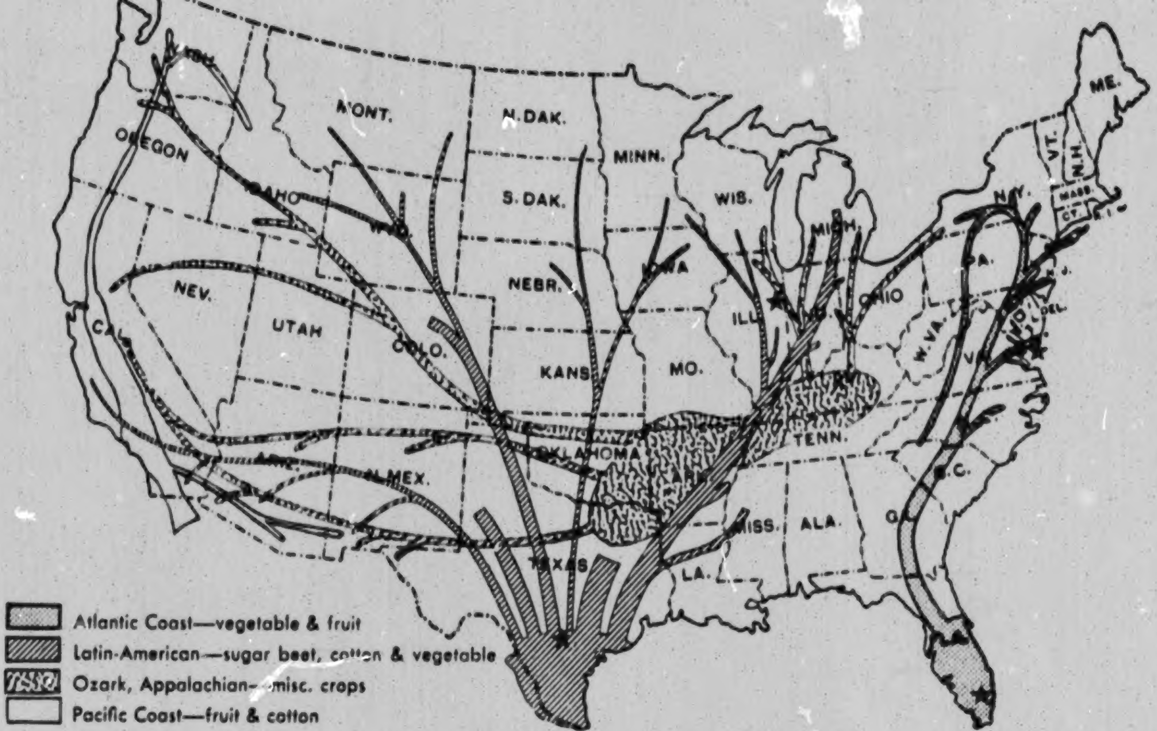
Atlantic Coast—vegetable & fruit
Latin-American—sugar beet, cotton & vegetable
Ozark, Appalachian—misc. crops
Pacific Coast—fruit & cotton
WASH.
OREGON
CAL.
NEV.
IDAHO
MONT.
WYO.
UTAH
COLO.
ARIZ.
N. MEX.
N. DAK.
S. DAK.
NEBR.
KANS.
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
MINN.
IOWA
MO.
ARK.
LA.
WIS.
ILL.
MICH.
IND.
OHIO
KY.
TENN.
MISS.
ALA.
GA.
S.C.
N.C.
VA.
W.VA.
MD.
DEL.
N.J.
PA.
N.Y.
VT.
N.H.
ME.
MASS.
CT.
R.I.

Source: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Standards

Field research was conducted in four local areas, selected to reflect various types of migratory situations. The four centers starred are: "Glades" Area, Palm Beach County, Florida; Northampton County, Virginia; Seguin Independent School District, Guadalupe County, Texas; Hoopeston-Milford-Rossville School Districts, Vermilion and Iroquois Counties, Illinois.

Introduction

THE CHILDREN OF THE "CHILDREN OF MISFORTUNE"

THEY ARE:

> . . . children of misfortune. They are the rejects of those sectors of agriculture and of other industries undergoing change. We depend on misfortune to build up our force of migratory workers and when the supply is low because there is not enough misfortune at home, we rely on misfortune abroad to replenish the supply.
>
> Migratory farm laborers move restlessly over the face of the land, but they neither belong to the land nor does the land belong to them. They pass through community after community, but they neither claim the community as home nor does the community claim them. Under the law, the domestic migrants are citizens of the United States, but they are scarcely more a part of the land of their birth than the alien migrants working beside them.
>
> The migratory workers engage in a common occupation, but their cohesion is scarcely greater than that of pebbles on the seashore. Each harvest collects and regroups them. They live under a common condition, but create no techniques for meeting common problems. The public acknowledges the existence of migrants, yet declines to accept them as full members of the community. As crops ripen, farmers anxiously await their coming; as the harvest closes, the community with equal anxiety, awaits their going.[1]

Little has changed in the three years since the President's Commission on Migratory Labor thus characterized the million wage workers in American agriculture who annually "follow the crops" in search of employment.

Nor is it less true today than in 1947 that:

> the chief victims in the families of migratory workers . . . are the children. They are not only robbed of normal home and community life but are universally handicapped by too early employment and by lack of educational opportunities.[2]

No one really knows with any accuracy the true volume of agricultural migrancy in the United States. The President's Commission estimated a million migratory workers in 1950. About half of these, they reported, were Mexican citizens in the United States either legally under inter-governmental arrangements, or illegally as "wetbacks." These workers are not ordinarily accompanied by their families and consequently have little direct bearing upon the educational problems under consideration in this study.

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[1] "Migratory Labor in American Agriculture." Report of the President's Commission in Migratory Labor, March 1951. p. 3.

[2] "Migrant Labor—A Human Problem." Report of Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, March 1947. p. 22.

A survey by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, reported in October 1953, indicates that the domestic migratory farm labor force in 1952 was about 450,000, a reduction of approximately 50,000 from their own 1950 figures. Whatever figure is established as approximating the total domestic migratory labor force must be substantially increased to account for the small children, elderly relatives, and others who move in the migratory stream but do not actually work in the crops.

Any attempt to state the number of school-age children involved in this movement would be to propose an estimate based on an estimate based on an estimate. All that can safely be asserted is that they are many (literally some hundreds of thousands) and that they are, as the Federal Interagency Committee said in 1947, in many ways the chief and the involuntary victims of the handicaps imposed by transiency and poverty.

Agricultural migrancy is increasingly a nation-wide phenomenon. Estimates assembled by the well-informed Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches give the numbers of migratory workers employed in 1951 in the states where the principal concentrations are found as follows:

California	200,000	Oregon	20,000	Md.-Del.	10,000
Texas	170,000	Virginia	20,000	North Carolina	10,000
Michigan	54,000	Washington	20,000	Wisconsin	8,000
Florida	51,000	New Jersey	18,000	Ohio	8,000
Arizona	45,000	New Mexico	18,000	Pennsylvania	8,000
Colorado	25,000	Minnesota	13,000	Illinois	7,000
New York	20,000	Indiana	10,000		

Many other states are known to employ smaller numbers of migrants.

Factors influencing this wide dispersal of the migratory labor pattern are increasing specialization in agriculture, growth of the year-round fresh fruit and vegetable markets, growth of the canned and frozen fruit and vegetable industries, the trend from sharecropping to wage labor in cotton production. A counter-force reducing the demand for seasonal and migratory labor has been the mechanization of certain farm operations, notably the harvesting of wheat, potatoes, sugar beets, and increasingly, cotton.

Every general investigation of the migrant problem has found family migrancy to be injurious to the educational life of children. The President's Commission (1951) put it this way:

> This Commission wishes to reiterate its conviction that the education of the children of migratory farm workers (and their parents also) is one of the most urgent and most essential of the many steps which the Nation can and should take to improve the lot of migrants who have for so long been deprived of what the rest of us take for granted.[3]

The President's Commission made this further comment, which may be regarded as the germ from which sprang the research project reported in this volume. Said the Commission Report:

> No Federal agency and very few state agencies have been specifically charged with responsibility for investigating the educational problems of migratory children. There is great need for a comprehensive study of ways and means to deal with this problem.[4]

ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

In 1951, the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor[5] invited six of its member organizations, selected for their special interest in educational and in child welfare, to join it in sponsoring a research project designed to provide a factual, objective basis for plans and programs to improve the educational opportunities and experience of the children of migratory agricultural workers.

The seven co-sponsoring agencies created a Migrant Research Project Board (see title page) to guide and administer the project and employed Reverend Shirley E. Greene, Agricultural Relations

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[3] "Migratory Labor in American Agriculture." Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, March 1951. p. 171.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

[5] The National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor is a coordinating council for agencies sharing its defined purposes: ". . . to improve the living and working conditions of the low income farm and rural populations of the United States of America by all possible means, including the collection and dissemination to organizations and individuals of information of scientific, economic, social, literary, and educational character."

Secretary, Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches, on a part-time basis as project director.

Grants totalling $20,000 were secured from the Committee for Relief and Reconstruction of the Congregational Christian Churches. Additional gifts from the National Child Labor Committee, the General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women, and the American Friends Service Committee provided a total cash budget of $20,604.73.

A list of 27 consultants was drawn up including educators, sociologists, psychologists and research specialists.[6]

The general contours of the project are indicated by the following policy decisions of the project board:

1. The Project shall deal with the problem of education for migrant children in its sociological relationships. Emphasis shall be upon the community setting in which the problem exists and within which it must be solved.

2. The heart of the project shall be a series of localized case studies of representative situations in the various streams of migratory movement.

3. Understanding and cooperation shall be sought from public educational authorities at state, county, and local levels in connection with each local case study.

4. Local case studies shall be conducted only in communities where the Project is welcomed by responsible local leadership.

5. Local Advisory Committees composed of educational leaders and other representative citizens shall be created at each local study center.

All of these policy decisions were predicated upon a fundamental assumption shared by project board, director and NCALL. This was the conviction that what was needed was not another "study" to be neatly packaged and stored away in library stacks, but a piece of live, action research which so far as possible would involve in the study those persons and agencies competent to implement plans and programs which might emerge.

Constructive action has been the goal of the project from its inception. There is considerable evidence of action in the making, even as this report is being written, in the centers where the study was located. The purpose of this publication and the abbreviated version published in May 1954[7] is to make available to educational and civic leadership elsewhere the procedures, findings and recommendations of this project in hope that action may be stimulated in many states and localities where this problem is faced.

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[6] See Appendix A, "Acknowledgements" for complete list of employed staff, consultants, and additional contributors of time, transportation and materials.

WHERE IT WENT AND WHAT IT DID

The project extended from July 1, 1952 to December 31, 1953 with field work confined largely to the six months January-June, 1953.

Nineteen state superintendents of public instruction, in states known to employ numbers of migrant agricultural workers, were approached with inquiry as to their interest in cooperating with such a study. From the 15 replies expressing interest, four states were selected as best representing, for our purposes, various aspects of the problem. These were Florida, Virginia, Texas and Illinois.[8]

With the advice and aid of the state departments of education, selections were made of specific local areas for study as follows:

Florida: *"Glades" Area, Palm Beach County.* A winter vegetable growing area, employing 4000 to 5000 migratory workers, Negro in the fields and white in packing sheds, during the winter months, November to May.

Virginia: *Northampton County.* A vegetable growing county employing up to 5000 Negro migrants in June-July and up to 1000 during the school months, September-October.

Texas: *Seguin Independent School District, Guadalupe County.* A cotton growing area employing upwards of 2000 Spanish-American migrant workers during September and October and serving as home base for some 450 Spanish-American migrant families during the off season, December-April.

Illinois: *Hoopeston-Milford-Rossville School Districts, Vermilion and Iroquois Counties.* A restricted vegetable growing area delivering to four local canneries who recruit and house a Spanish-American migrant labor force of about 150 families from early May to the end of August.

In all cases our selection was based upon the presence of substantial numbers of migrants during some portion of the school year, and upon the cordial cooperation of local school authorities.

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[7] "Children of Misfortune" by Shirley E. Greene, originally published as a magazine article in *Social Action,* Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches; reprinted as a pamphlet for the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. 25c

[8] Michigan was the original choice in the upper Midwest. Local opposition in the county proposed for study led to the substitution of Illinois in this region.

The local areas were selected also with a view to including as many of the various types of situation involved in the complex migratory pattern as time and resources would permit. The following chart indicates roughly the coverage represented by our four study centers.

Variable Factors	*Included*
1. Migratory Streams	
a. East Coast	Fla., Va.
b. Midwest	Tex., Ill.
c. Plains States	Tex.
d. West Coast	(not included)
2. Residence Status of Migrants	
a. Home base	Fla., Tex.
b. On the road	Va., Ill.
3. Race and Nationality of Migrants	
a. Negro	Fla., Va.
b. Spanish-American	Tex., Ill.
c. White Anglo	Fla.
4. Major Crops Employing Migrants	
a. Vegetables	Fla., Va., Ill.
b. Cotton	Tex.
c. Fruit	(not included)
5. School Facilities Available to Migrants	
a. City and town	Fla., Tex., Ill.
b. Rural	Fla., Va.

Totally unrepresented, regrettably, are (a) the West Coast, (b) the upper great plains area, (c) the fruit crop areas, (d) those areas in which Negro migrants might be found attending non-segregated schools.

In each of the four study centers, a local Advisory Committee of school people and citizens was created and regularly consulted while the field work was in progress. These Committees ranged from 17 to 35 members. Field work in each of the four study centers consisted of:

1. Interviews with migrant families
2. Interviews with school teachers and principals
3. Interviews with other informed persons

4. Securing of transcripts from school records of migrant children
5. Meeting and discussion with local groups.

Table 1 summarizes the scope of the field work in the four centers.

Table 1

SUMMARY OF FIELD RESEARCH ACTIVITY

	Florida		*Va.*	*Tex.*	*Ill.*	*Total*
	Negro	*White*				
Man-weeks in field	15	7	7	14	5	48
Family contacts	457	296	87	439	151	1430
Family schedules	266	70	71	162	96	665
No. of children (age 6-18) in scheduled families	689	182	165	538	288	1862
No. of schools	9	3	8	4	5	29
Teacher interviews	59	32	35	19	24	169
Principal interviews	9	3	8	3	5	28
Migrant pupil records	1079	115	47	349	129	1719
Miscellaneous interviews (approx.)	30		25	10	8	73
Local organizations visited	15		8	2	3	28
Members of advisory committee	35		17	25	19	96
Meetings of advisory committee	5		4	2	3	14

Other elements included in the study and reported in these pages are a migrant pupil testing program involving 428 children in the Florida study center; a six-week experimental school for migrant children near Waupun, Wisconsin, during the summer of 1953, and review of the information on migrant education in other major studies made since 1935.

Summary of Major Findings and Recommendations

FINDINGS

WITHIN the compulsory attendance age brackets, 7-15 years inclusive, 78.0 per cent of the children were enrolled in school. For the broader age range, 6-18 years inclusive, 64.9 per cent were enrolled. Enrollment rates were much higher in the southern, or home-base centers, than in the "on-the-road" centers. (Chapter III)

"Working in agriculture" was the principal reason for non-enrollment. This applied to 80 children of compulsory school age. A number of cases, especially in Virginia and Illinois, gave "arrived too late or too recently" as reason for non-enrollment. (Chapter III)

Days of school attendance as a percentage of total days enrolled ranged from 98.2 per cent in an upper grade in Florida to less than 50.0 per cent in a certain Virginia grade. Some doubt is reflected, however, on the accuracy of the higher percentages. Field observations and conversations with teachers suggest some inflation of attendance reports. One hundred fourteen of the 197 school principals and teachers listed "absenteeism" as a problem; 65, as a serious problem. (Chapter III)

Of the 665 families interviewed, 78.9 per cent had maintained no continuous residence as long as 30 weeks during the preceding year. Yet 62.0 per cent of the children reported attendance at only one school. In terms of weeks of schooling during the past year (three days or more of attendance being considered a week), 5.6 per cent reported less than 10 weeks; 11.9 per cent, from 10 to 19 weeks; 42.0 per cent, from 20 to 29 weeks; 40.5 per cent, 30 or more weeks. These figures take no account of children reporting no attendance at all. (Chapter IV)

Over one-third of the children became retarded as early as their second year in school. Percentages of retardation mounted steadily. For children with 9 years of schooling 75.0 per cent were retarded. After the fourth year in school well over half the children were retarded from two to five years. (Chapter V)

Two-thirds of the children were over-age for the grade. In the 11-12-year age group two years over-age was the median; in the 13-16-year age group it was three years. More than one-third of the group reporting normal age-grade status were 6-7-year-olds who had not been in school long enough to become retarded in age-grade relationships. (Chapter V)

Added to these direct evidences of retardation were the judgments expressed by teachers concerning scholastic achievement. These indicated that in grades 2 to 6, between one-third and one-half were placed from one to three grades higher than their scholastic attainment warranted. (Chapter V)

The increase of total enrollment during the school year caused by migrants ranged from 106.0 per cent in the Palm Beach County Negro schools to 2.4 per cent in the Virginia Negro schools. Elementary teacher loads at the height of migrant enrollment averaged: Florida, Negro, 40.4; Florida, white, 32.4; Virginia, 50.0; Texas, 39.1. If all migrants age 6-15 were enrolled and teacher loads held to 30 pupils, additional teachers would be required as follows: Florida Negro schools, 20; Florida white schools, 5; Virginia, 33; Texas, 5; Illinois, 6. In Virginia the migrants would require 12-15 additional teachers; the remainder would be required to reduce overloads. (Chapter VI)

One hundred twenty principals and teachers favored integration of migrant with non-migrant children for instructional purposes; 35 favored separate rooms or separate schools for migrants. Twenty-two of the latter were dealing with Spanish-American migrants where the language problem appears to be acute, especially in the lower grades. (Chapter VI)

Leading the list of problems felt by principals and teachers in connection with migrants were retardation, teacher overloads, overcrowding of facilities, and absenteeism. Teachers and principals rate migrant children as average or slightly below average in respect to a variety of significant personality traits. A great variety of modifications in teaching procedures were reported by 109 teachers and principals; 88 reported no modifications occasioned by the presence of migrants. (Chapter VII)

Suggestions made by principals and teachers for improving migrant education included more practical and vocational subjects, expanded facilities, additional and specialized teachers, attendance enforcement, adult education, improved home life, and economic opportunity for migrant families. (Chapter VII)

The education of the parents is generally more restricted than that of their children in this generation. Migrant parents have few contacts with their children's schools and teachers. Most migrant parents (80.0 per cent) want their children to finish high school. Spanish-American migrant parents persistently speak Spanish in the home and their children do the same. The more education the parents have attained the more consistently do they keep their children in school and the higher are their educational ambitions for their children. (Chapter VIII)

About half the 665 families found employment for some members of the family from 160 to 239 days during the year. Twenty-eight per cent had more continuous employment; 21.1 per cent had less. In terms of total man-days of employment for the year, 41.9 per cent of the families reported 200-399; 33.4 per cent reported 400-599; 11.5 per cent reported 600-799. A handful of the very large families found more than 800 man-days of work; 8.3 per cent fell below 200. (Chapter IX)

Five hundred fifty-eight families gave complete income reports for the preceding year. Fifty-six per cent showed less than $2500 estimated total family income; 38.2 per cent fell below $2000. Less than half the families earning under $2500 reported children (age 6-18) out of school; two-thirds of those earning over $2500 reported some of their children (age 6-18) out of school. (Chapter IX)

Of the 2039 children above five years of age, 57.0 per cent were reported as never having worked in agriculture, 7.5 per cent had no work record in the week preceding the interview, and 18.4 per cent gave no report. Of the 357 children with a work history during the sample work week, 80 were of legal compulsory school age. The median hours worked for the whole group of 357 was slightly over 40 hours; for the school-age children, it was slightly below 40 hours. Median weekly earnings for the school-age group was in the neighborhood of $25. (Chapter IX)

Scores made by 199 migrant children and 229 non-migrant children, white and Negro, in grades 5 and 8 on a battery of tests (covering general operational ability, reading achievement, arithmetic achievement, emotional adjustment, and numbers of acknowledged personal problems) revealed, in general, the following: (a) migrant children of both races tend to be older than their non-migrant classmates; (b) in the white schools where migrants are a small minority, definite differences appear suggesting superiority of non-migrants over migrants in achievement, operational ability and personality adjustment; (c) in the Negro schools where the migrants actually outnumber the resident children and where many of the resident children are but a few years removed from migrancy, few statistically significant differences were found and these were ambivalent. (Chapter X)

The report from the experimental summer school near Waupun, Wisconsin, emphasizes the needs of migrant children for a feeling of security, a feeling of belongingness, the acquisition of information and knowledge, and the experience of success. A study unit entitled "Travelling We Go," developed in the experimental situation especially for migrant children, is described in the text. (Chapter XI)

RECOMMENDATIONS [1]

(In the text, these recommendations appear in full at the conclusion of the appropriate chapters. Here they are brought together in condensed version and grouped according to the agency or agencies to whom they are primarily addressed. Roman numerals after each recommendation indicate the chapter in which the full text of the recommendation is to be found.)

1. *To local school authorities, we recommend:*

a. Employment of adequate and properly trained attendance supervisors of the same racial and nationality background as the migrants. (III)

b. A vigorous campaign to enlist the cooperation of growers in keeping migrant children in school. (III)

c. Work with labor contractors and crew leaders to secure their cooperation in keeping migrant children in school. (IV)

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[1] All recommendations made in this volume are the recommendations of the Migrant Research Project Board, based on their study of the field research findings.

d. Establishment of kindergartens and nursery schools for migrant children. (V)

e. Experimentation to determine the best method of grade placement of migrant children. (V)

f. Employment of adequate and especially skilled teaching staff. (VI)

g. Planning of re-modelling and new building programs with migrant children in mind. (VI)

h. Hot school lunches including such free lunches as are needed. (VI)

i. More practical and vocational courses and vocational guidance for migrant children. (VII)

j. Adult education classes for migrants. (VIII)

k. Special young adult classes for migrants. (VIII)

2. *To state departments of public instruction, state legislatures, and teacher-training institutions, we recommend:*

a. Tightening of school attendance laws to cover migrants; and bringing state child labor laws into conformity. (III)

b. Cooperation with neighboring states in the same migratory stream and with the U. S. Office of Education. (IV)

c. Provision of special state grants-in-aid to local school districts receiving migrant children. (VI)

d. Employment of supervisors in migrant education. (VII)

e. More adequate preparation of teachers in the teacher-training institutions for handling migrant children. (VII)

f. Teaching of Spanish in the teacher-training institutions in states where Spanish-American migrants are numerous. (VII)

g. Research by state educational institutions into the psychological effects of migrancy upon children. (X)

3. *Jointly to local and state school authorities, we recommend:*

a. Full assumption of responsibility for the education of every school-age child within the jurisdiction, no matter how briefly; and removal of any legal abridgement of this responsibility. (III)

b. Cooperation with the U. S. Department of Labor in enforcement of the federal law prohibiting employment of children under 16 years of age in commercial agriculture while schools are in session. (The Fair Labor Standards Act, as amended.) (III)

c. Regular communication with groups familiar with migratory movements, in the interest of more timely planning. (IV)

d. Establishment of summer schools for migrants. (IV)

e. Acceptance of full integration of migrant with resident children as the desirable goal; recognition that separate classes or special instructional groupings must be justified on strictly educational grounds and should be eliminated as soon as possible. (VI)

f. Making problems of migrant education a regular subject for discussion and study in professional gatherings of schoolmen at all levels. (VII)

g. Initiation of state and county interagency committees on migrant labor problems. (IX)

4. *To principals and teachers, we recommend:*

a. Child study groups. (VII)

b. Special efforts to meet migrant parents. (VIII)

c. Planning regular or special testing programs to include migrants. (X)

5. *To local communities and groups, we recommend:*

a. Efforts toward the development of our national economy in ways which will stabilize employment and minimize migrancy. (IV)

b. Encouragement of migrant families to enroll their children in school at the earliest possible age. (V)

c. Campaigns to convince migrant parents of the values of education for their children and to solicit migrant membership in the P.T.A. (VIII)

d. Community-wide efforts to win acceptance for migrants and their participation in all aspects of community life. (VIII)

6. *To the Congress of the United States, we recommend:*

a. Increased appropriations to the school lunch program. (VI)

b. A substantial appropriation to the U. S. Office of Education for work, in cooperation with the states, on problems of migrant education. (VI)

c. Special federal aid to schools facing shortage of facilities and personnel due to influxes of agricultural migratory workers. (VI)

d. Inclusion of migratory workers in a federal minimum wage law and in the Old Age and Survivors Insurance provision of the Social Security Act. (IX)

CHAPTER I

The Four Study Centers

A. The "Glades" Area of Palm Beach County, Florida

"Her Soil Is Her Fortune"

THIS motto of the Belle Glade Chamber of Commerce is an appropriate and descriptive slogan for the entire "Glades" area of Palm Beach County. Agriculture is the sole economic basis for the life of this area of young and growing communities.

The "Glades" constitutes the extreme western portion of this southeast Florida county, an area bordering Lake Okeechobee. It is separated from the famed coastal resort area by a wide belt of swampland until recently undeveloped. Into this central belt, which accounts for two-thirds of the one and a quarter million acres of land in the county, has been moving in the past decade a rapidly expanding cattle industry.

The "Glades" is one of the nation's largest winter vegetable and cane sugar producing areas. In common with other non-coastal portions of south Florida, it is one of America's most recent frontiers. Despite a long history of exploration, Seminole Indian wars, military expeditions and the like, and despite the recurrent land booms associated with the resort developments along the coast, the interior of south Florida was hardly better known or more thickly settled than the interior of Alaska as late as 1920. Outside of the primitive camps of fishermen, alligator and egret hunters, the cane sugar mills at Bryant (Palm Beach County) and Clewiston (in neighboring Hendry County) were the first serious attempts at a permanent economic development in the area. They date back no further than 1920.

The soil which is advertised as "her fortune" has been there for a long time. Only recently, however, has human ingenuity learned to unlock the fortune hidden in it. It is muck soil containing about 75.0 per cent and sometimes as high as 90.0 per cent organic matter. To the early operator it presented a host of problems.

Those who first tried to settle in the area found the land regularly flooded from the over-flow of Lake Okeechobee. When wet, the muck was unworkable with heavy equipment; when dry, it would blow badly, and on occasion catch fire and burn. It also proved to be compressible, when dry, so that a farmer might install a drainage system only to find in a few years that his fields were below the level of his drainage outlets. What was worst of all, the "blamed" stuff wouldn't produce anything. Crops planted in raw muck either developed "muck sickness" or went all out for leaves and stalks but failed to mature.

Solution to these various problems came gradually and by a trial and error process which weeded out many of the early pioneers. First, they drained. Then learning to their sorrow that excessive drainage exposed the land to shrinking and blowing, they irrigated. Now the standard land-water treatment is a canal system which can be used reversibly—either to drain water off or to pump it onto the land as the season demands.

In 1928 workers at the three-year-old Everglades Experiment Station, near Belle Glade, discovered a chemical combination of copper sulphate which would render the uncooperative muck soil immensely fertile. On test plots, unfertilized muck soil would produce from none to 13 hampers of snap beans to the acre; after treatment, production jumped above 150 hampers to the acre.

This was the break. With their 55 inches of average annual rainfall, with virtually frost-free climate which averages 79 degrees in summer, 70 degrees in winter and 74.7 degrees annually, with a location hundreds of miles closer than Texas or California to the great northeastern population centers, with refrigerated transportation just coming into its own—and now with soil that would grow crops, it is small wonder that agricultural production leaped forward in the area.

THE AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE

The amount of land in farms (including cattle ranges) as recorded by the Census of Agriculture gives a striking index of the recent and phenomenal growth of agriculture in this country. The trend is clearly indicated in the following table:

Date	*Acres in Farm Land*
1930	34,576
1935	65,151
1940	80,175
1945	278,090
1950	392,228

Several factors have combined to squeeze out the "little" men, the family farmers, and leave the agriculture of the "Glades" in the hands of giants. The present assistant County Agent came to the "Glades" in 1925. Then, he recalls, there were only a handful of farms. They were located in the extremely rich belt close to the lake shore, and they ranged from 60 to 75 acres in size.

Many of these first "little" farmers were washed away in 1928 when a hurricane piled much of the water of Lake Okeechobee at the northwest end of the lake and then reversed itself to hurl the waters in a vast tidal wave over the lake shore settlements and farm lands to the south and east. Others became quickly discouraged by the recalcitrance of the muck soil and the problems of drainage. Costly trial and error proved that this land could be made to produce only after a large capital investment in drainage, irrigation, and specialized mechanical equipment. You either got big or you got out. "It was a wild and woolly business," a local Chamber of Commerce publication says of the early days, "with many a financial headache." It is not surprising that a local grower said to us, during the survey: "We haven't really had time to think about such things (as education for migrant children); we have been too busy building up a business." Table 2 clearly shows the trend.

Table 2

CHARACTERISTICS OF AGRICULTURAL LAND TENURE, PALM BEACH COUNTY, FLA. (SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1940 AND 1950).

	1930	*1935*	*1940*	*1945*	*1950*
Av. size of farms (acres)	39.6	50.6	99.2	244.2	460.9
Av. value per farm of land and buildings (dollars)	7,202	5,197	10,416	15,459	39,529
Proportion of tenancy (per cent)	54.6	50.3	34.9	29.1	15.4

Even Table 2 does not tell the full story of large-scale agricultural enterprise. Irrigated farms in the county, according to 1950 Census figures, average 959.5 acres and $71,259 in value per farm. The "Glades" area farms are predominantly irrigated.

Today there are approximately 175 growers in the "Glades" area. They are the survivors of a generation of risk-takers. The leading dozen or so, with acreages of 1000 to 3000 acres each, have combined large-scale field operations with packing-shed activities. They have spread the risk by diversifying into several vegetable crops, and are rapidly moving further to protect themselves with a correlated cattle-raising enterprise.

The medium-sized growers, possibly 75 in number with acreages from 250 to 1000 acres, operate through cooperative packing sheds, diversify to some extent, and hope that weather, labor supply and market prices will conspire to permit them to stay in business. The remaining 100 or so small farmers operate on the fringes of the commercial vegetable market and represent the remnant of the pioneer type of family farm operator.

Thus the soil, the climate, the tenure pattern, and the cropping pattern have combined to create an industrialized agriculture characterized by large units of ownership, large capital investment, professional management, and a high labor demand of seasonal nature. This is the perfect setting for the development of a pattern of migratory agricultural labor.

Tables 3 and 4 on page 18 depict this situation statistically.

The total value of vegetables sold from Palm Beach County in 1949, according to the 1950 Census of Agriculture, was $13,945,494, the highest in the state of Florida and approximately twice its nearest rival.

"STOOP" LABOR

Vegetable growers in the "Glades" have developed a variety of mechanical equipment in connection with their drainage and irrigation systems. They have gone far toward mechanizing field preparation, planting and cultivating of crops. Except for sugar cane and potatoes, however, no machinery has been invented to take the place of hand labor in the harvesting of the numerous vegetable crops grown in the "Glades."

Table 3

VEGETABLE ACREAGE—PALM BEACH COUNTY AND GLADES AREA, FLA.

Crop	*Palm Beach County (1950 Census of Agriculture)* *Acres*	*Glades Area (Estimates of Asst. Co. Agent 1952-1953)* *Acres*
Green beans	43,050	50,000
Sweet corn	3,790	2,000
Cabbage	3,398	5,500
Celery	3,043	3,000
Green Lima beans	2,273	
Escarole (including endive and chicory)	2,142	
Sweet pepper and pimentoes	1,723	
Irish potatoes	1,494	2,500
Squash	1,367	
Other vegetables[1]	4,434	2,000
Total acres of vegetables harvested for sale	66,711	65,000

Table 4

COMMERCIAL FARMS, BY VALUE OF PRODUCTS SOLD—PALM BEACH COUNTY, FLA. (SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1950).

Value of Products Sold	*No. of Farms*	*Per cent of Farms*	*Comparative per cent for State of Florida*
$25,000 or more	140	26.5	8.0
10,000 to 24,999	91	17.3	9.1
5,000 to 9,999	48	9.1	12.5
2,500 to 4,999	66	12.6	19.0
1,200 to 2,499	110	20.8	28.4
250 to 1,199	72	13.7	23.0
Total Commercial Farms	527	100.0	100.0

This means that field (and packing-shed) labor requirements fluctuate greatly, with a steep peak at harvest time. Snap beans for example, which, according to the Assistant County Agent's estimate, covered 50,000 of the 65,000 acres of vegetables in the "Glades" (1952-53) require 14.9 man-hours of pre-harvest labor per acre to 86.6 man-hours per acre at harvest time.

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[1] Other vegetables include chihili, collards, cucumbers, eggplant, elderberries, endive, lettuce, peas, romaine, tomatoes, turnip greens, beets, broccoli, carrots, kale, okra, onions, radishes, rutabagas, squash.

The harvest season in the "Glades," because of the variety of crops and the comparatively frost-free climate is a prolonged one compared to most agricultural areas. Vegetables begin to move in volume around November first and intensive harvesting operations continue, shifting from crop to crop, into May. Even within this six-month harvest period, however, there are peaks and troughs of labor demand. The peaks coincide generally with the three bean harvests which dominate the labor scene. They come, depending upon the weather in the following months, approximately November 1-December 31; January 20-March 15; March 25-May 15.

The Belle Glade office of the Florida State Employment Service handles by far the largest volume of farm labor of any local office in the state. In the period September 1951-August 1952, this office alone reported 29,056 agricultural placements, accounting for 27 per cent of all official placements in the state during that 12-month period. A large amount of labor, of course, is recruited outside Employment Service facilities.

Harvest field work in the area is done almost exclusively by Negro labor. Packing-shed work in the main is reserved for white labor. The highly-informed estimates of the Belle Glade office of the State Employment Service provide the best available picture of seasonal farm labor use, both migratory and non-migratory, at the time of the study. Their estimates of total employment and migratory employment in the "Glades" area for the four months of our field study are shown in Table 5.

This study is concerned with the educational opportunities and experiences of the children who belong to the families of these 4000 to 5000 migratory workers who are resident in the "Glades" area from about November 1 to about May 15. It will be noted that this season would only need to be stretched a couple of weeks in the spring and a couple of months in the fall to provide an employment season coincident with the normal school term. There would have to be considerable firming up of labor demand at both the beginning and end of the season, however, before steady employment would be the means of solving the problem of educational transiency for all or most of the migratory families in this area.

Table 5

SEASONAL FIELD AND FOOD PROCESSING LABOR, "GLADES" AREA, PALM BEACH COUNTY, FLORIDA. (SOURCE: BELLE GLADE OFFICE, FLORIDA EMPLOYMENT SERVICE)

	1953			
	January	*February*	*March*	*April*
Agricultural				
All Labor	9,458	9,380	10,040	13,275
Migratory	3,832	4,010	4,305	4,515
Food Processing				
All Labor	1,200	1,220	1,460	2,225
Migratory	290	240	415	....
Total Labor Force				
All Labor	10,658	10,600	11,500	15,500
Migratory	4,125	4,250	4,700	4,990
Migratory as per cent of All Labor	38.7	40.1	39.8	32.2

THE COMMUNITIES

The population centers of the "Glades" area are located in a string along the south and east shores of Lake Okeechobee. From southwest to northeast, they are: Bear Beach, Lake Harbor, Bean City, South Bay, Belle Glade-Chosen, Pahokee, Canal Point, and Bryant. Only four of these were large enough for separate enumeration by the 1950 Federal Census:

South Bay	1,050
Belle Glade-Chosen	10,589 [2]
Pahokee	4,472
Canal Point	1,022

The total population of the area was reported in 1950 as 22,797.

Four of these settlements—Belle Glade, Pahokee, Canal Point and South Bay—are community centers with well-developed facilities and services. Bryant is a sugar camp owned by the U. S. Sugar Corporation. Bear Beach, Lake Harbor and Bean City are very small settlements composed principally of the minor officials and workers on some of the large vegetable farms and sugar plantations.

In addition to the cities and villages, five farm labor camps are located in the area, housing a very considerable permanent and migratory population. Three of the camps are inhabited by Negroes, two by whites, as follows:

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[2] Includes separately reported population of Belle Glade labor camp.

Name of Camp	*No. of Family Units*
Okeechobee Camp—Near Belle Glade—Negro	570
Osceola Camp—Near Belle Glade—White	324
Everglades Camp—Near Pahokee—Negro	313
Pahokee Camp—Near Pahokee—White	182
Canal Point Camp—Near Canal Point—Negro	170
Total	1559

The farm labor camps were built by the Federal Farm Security Administration between 1939 and 1942. In 1947 they were turned over to local housing authorities under a long-term and very lenient purchase contract. Many of the larger homes are now occupied by permanent residents. In fact, their availability has been a major factor in stabilizing a portion of the formerly floating population. These camps provide a much better environment for family living than the "quarters" inhabited by migrants in Belle Glade, Pahokee, South Bay, Canal Point and in other rural concentrations such as those bearing the picturesque names of Streamline, Stumble Inn, Bucket o' Blood and Section 20.

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The public school system of Palm Beach County shares with other Florida counties two outstanding advantages. Both are the result of legislation enacted in 1947. One is a county unit administration which eliminates the local school districts and boards which encumber educational administration in many states. The other is the Minimum Foundation Program under which the state assists the counties to underwrite a minimum standard in school finance.

Within this strong financial and administrative framework, Palm Beach County presents a good average picture. Among the 67 counties of Florida, it stood twenty-fifth in expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance in 1950-51. The per pupil expenditure was $186.71. In 1951-52 the county spent $190.16 per pupil, but found itself in thirty-second place. The national average per pupil expenditure (1953-54) was $247.

The county operates six white schools and nine Negro schools in the "Glades" area. Table 6 lists them and reports a few basic facts about each.

Table 6

SCHOOLS OF "GLADES" AREA, PALM BEACH COUNTY, FLORIDA[3] (SOURCE: PALM BEACH COUNTY DEPT. OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION)

Name of School	*Date of Construction*	*Grades Taught*	*No. of Classrooms*	*No. of Auxiliary Rooms*[4]	*Average Daily Membership 1951-52*
White					
Belle Glade	1941	1-12	31	23	842
Canal Point	1934	1-9	8	4	152
Lake Harbor	1936	1-6	3	2	51
Osceola Camp	1942	1-6	7	1	163
Pahokee	1928	1-12	20	21	639
South Bay	1929	1-9	6	6	114
TOTALS			75	57	1961
Negro					
Bean City	1936	1-6	1	0	46
Bryant	....	1-9	4	5	112
Canal Point (Labor Camp)	1942	1-6	2	2	61
East Lake (Pahokee)	1929 1948	1-6	7	2	289
Everglades Camp	1941	1-9	6	0	233
Lake Shore (Belle Glade)	1949	1-6	14	5	553
Ritta	1937	1-6	1	0	35
Rosenwald (So.Bay)	1951	1-6	5	2	139
Vocational High	1940	1-12	13	5	620
TOTALS			53	21	2088

For an evalution of the physical plants involved in our study, we are fortunate to be able to refer to a survey made in November

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[3] This study covered all the Negro schools but of the white schools, only those primarily affected by the migrant problem, viz. Belle Glade, (Gr. 1-6), Pahokee, (Gr. 1-6), and Osceola Camp.

[4] Auxiliary rooms counted include such as home economics, agriculture, shop, commercial, band, art, visual aids, gymnasium, auditorium, lunchroom, teachers lounges, administrative offices, etc., but not storage, dressing or shower rooms.

1952 by a team of experts assigned by the state department of education.

Regarding the three white schools involved in this study, Belle Glade and Pahokee schools were regarded by the survey teams as the two major permanent white school centers in the "Glades" area. Osceola Camp was tolerated with the suggestion that ultimately it might be consolidated with Belle Glade.

Regarding the nine Negro Schools in the area, the official survey team reports:

Full approval: East Lake—Grades 1-6 (with extensive additions)
Lake Shore—Grades 1-6 (with extensive additions)
Rosenwald—Grades 1-6 (with additions)
Limited approval: Bryant—Grades 1-6
Canal Point—Grades 1-6
Everglades Camp—Grades 1-6
Vocational High—Grades 1-6
Disapproval: Bean City
Bryant for Grades 7-8
Everglades Camp for Grades 7-8
Ritta
Vocational High for Grades 7-12
Construction recommended: A new high school on the Lake Shore site.

If these recommendations were followed, the emerging pattern would provide three major educational centers for Negroes in the "Glades":

East Lake at Pahokee (Grades 1-6)
Lake Shore at Belle Glade (Grades 1-12)
Rosenwald at South Bay (Grades 1-6)

Supplemental centers which might ultimately be consolidated with these would be: Bryant (Grades 1-6), Everglades Camp (Grades 1-6), Canal Point Camp (Grades 1-6), Vocational High (Grades 1-6).

Bean City and Ritta would be closed and their children transported to Rosenwald in South Bay.

The regular school term in all Palm Beach County schools is nine months or 180 days, from early September to early June. No crop vacations or closing of schools to make children available for agricultural work are tolerated.

B. Northampton County, Virginia

It is 950 miles from Belle Glade, Florida to Cape Charles, Virginia. A truckload of Negro migrants will make it, driving day and night, in a day and a half. In the course of that trek, made annually by several hundred Negro agricultural workers, they roll through three and a quarter centuries of American history. The "Glades" area of Florida, as we have pointed out, is virtually a frontier country having developed a stable, commercial agriculture only since 1928.

Tidewater Virginia, on the other hand, was producing tobacco for the British market shortly after the establishment of Jamestown Colony in 1607. Eastville, the county seat of Northampton County, is less than 50 miles as the crow flies from the site of the Jamestown settlement, where incidentally the first Negro agricultural workers were introduced to colonial America in 1619 as plantation slaves. It is boasted that the Northampton County courthouse at Eastville contains civic records continuous since 1632 up to the present time.

Northampton County is one of two Virginia counties occupying the lower end of the Delmarva (Delaware-Maryland-Virginia) peninsula. Legally, politically, and historically it belongs to Virginia from which it is separated by the broad waters of Chesapeake Bay, and to which it has been connected by two ferry lines, one of which was permanently discontinued while this study was in progress. Commercially the county and its northern neighbor, Accomack, belong to eastern shore Maryland and Delaware.

In size as well as age, Northampton County and its agriculture contrast sharply with Palm Beach County. Total land area of Northampton County is 144,640 acres compared to over one and a quarter million acres in Palm Beach County. The proportion of land in farms is stabilized at a little over 50 per cent of the total land area. In common with most sections of the United States, farms have been growing fewer and larger. Here is the record since 1930:

Date	*No. of Farms*	*Average Size of Farms (acres)*
1930	1105	70.2
1935	961	85.2
1940	777	96.3
1945	722	107.2
1950	603	121.2

Small wonder our field research associate referred to these as "pocket-handkerchief fields" after spending four months among the vast vegetable fields of Palm Beach County. Nevertheless, these small farms produce a lot of vegetables, and employ a host of seasonal and migratory workers.

THE NATION'S MARKET GARDEN

Northampton County lies near the southern end of a vast truck gardening belt which extends 300 miles from New York City southward across New Jersey, Delaware, eastern-shore Maryland and Virginia to the North Carolina state line. Here, until the relatively recent advent of refrigerated shipping, were grown virtually all the perishable fresh fruits and vegetables consumed in the vast population centers of metropolitan New York and Philadelphia. Even today, with competition from other regions, this represents the most accessible source of fresh produce for these growing metropolitan areas.

Together with a considerable amount of commercial seafood activity, the agricultural enterprise constitutes the economic basis of Northampton County's life. There are no substantial industrial installations except the commercial canneries which are related to the vegetable and seafood crops.

A statistical breakdown of the farming enterprise is provided in Tables 7 and 8.

Northampton County has produced vegetabes commercially for many years. Even though family-sized farms (100-125 acres) predominate, when devoted to fresh produce such farms require a substantial volume of seasonal labor at harvest. When the requirements of four corporation farms, ranging up to 2000 acres each, and several 300-400 acre individual holdings are added, we have a picture of very large labor demand at harvest time.

Table 7

VEGETABLE ACREAGE—NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA (SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1950)

Crop	*Acres*	*Crop*	*Acres*
Tomatoes	10,383	Sweet peppers and pimentoes	1,748
Irish potatoes	9,023	Cabbage	1,339
Green beans	5,317	Sweet corn	1,320
Green Lima beans	4,113	Strawberries	1,070
Sweet potatoes	1,759	Other vegetables	586

Total acres of vegetables harvested for sale—36,660

Table 8

COMMERCIAL FARMS BY ECONOMIC CLASS—NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA (SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1950).

Value of Products Sold	*No. of Farms*	*Per cent of Farms*	*Comparative per cent for State of Virginia*
$25,000 or more	55	10.0	2.0
10,000-24,999	123	22.5	5.4
5,000- 9,999	154	28.1	9.2
2,500- 4,999	112	20.5	21.4
1,200- 2,499	61	11.2	31.1
250- 1,199	42	7.7	30.9
Total Commercial Farms	547	100.0	100.0

Potatoes were the first commercial vegetable crop in the county, dating back probably to the turn of the century or earlier. Cabbage is also an old-timer. Strawberries came in by or soon after 1920. Beans and tomatoes made their appearance about 1930. Sweet corn and broccoli are comparative newcomers of the past five years.

EMPLOYMENT AND LABOR SUPPLY

Harvest labor in the early days of limited shipment was recruited locally. As Irish potato production expanded after World War I, the practice arose of recruiting harvest labor from the urban areas of Norfolk and Baltimore. In the 1930's there are reports of trainloads of harvest workers imported from Florida. During World War II, a prisoner-of-war camp was located on the eastern shore and prisoners were used to supplement southern Negroes. In 1943 the Agricultural Extension Service undertook an active labor recruitment program. In this connection two mobile labor camps were created in the county. After the war, the Virginia State Employment Service took over the labor supply program and the Northampton County Farm Bureau took over ownership and operation of the labor camps which were made permanent and are now referred to as the Cheriton (south) and Exmore (north) Labor Camps.

Virtually all harvest labor in the fields is performed by Negroes. White labor, to a large extent female, handles the work in packing sheds and canneries. The local office of the Virginia Employment Service serves both Northampton and Accomack Counties. Its published figures on employment group both counties together. It appears that the volume of employment is roughly the same for each of the counties. In general, therefore, the Northampton County figures will range about 50 per cent of those cited in the following table.

Table 9

SEASONAL FARM LABOR—NORTHAMPTON AND ACCOMACK COUNTIES, VIRGINIA (SOURCE: VIRGINIA STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, 1952 REPORTS)

Month	*Principal Crops*	*Total*	*Migratory*
May	Strawberries	5,300	2,300
June	Cabbage, snap beans, white potatoes, etc.	23,000	9,500
July	Snap beans, potatoes, sweet corn, onions, tomatoes, etc.	19,900	6,700
August	Sweet potatoes, Lima beans, snap beans, etc.	4,800	2,300
Sept.	Snap beans, sweet potatoes, peppers, etc.	10,900	1,500
Oct.	General vegetables	12,900	2,500

Nearly all the Negro migrants employed in Northampton County are recruited and transported by crew leaders (most of them also Negroes) from Florida and other southeastern states. This pattern of movement in crews means that when the migrants arrive, they are likely to appear in sizable groups. As related to the school year, the pattern is about as follows:

The first crews begin to arrive early in May while the public schools have yet about four weeks to run. With the decline of strawberries as a crop, however, fewer are coming so early. Actually, it is in June, after schools have closed that the great influx arrives for spring beans, potatoes and tomatoes.

An employment slump in August sends many crews on into New

Jersey, New York, and New England. Those who return for the autumn harvest in Northampton County are likely to get back about mid-September, a week or two after schools have opened. They are then in residence from six to eight weeks during school term, the numbers tapering off rapidly after the first of November.

THE COMMUNITIES

Northampton is a thoroughly rural county. Its largest population center, Cape Charles, for two recent decades was listed in the urban column in the U. S. Census. By 1940 it was back in the rural column, having dropped to less than 2500 inhabitants.

Table 10

POPULATION OF NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1920-50 (SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS OF POPULATION)

	1950	*1940*	*1930*	*1920*
Total County Population	17,300	17,597	18,565	17,852
Capeville District (South)	7,294	7,418	7,823	7,323
Eastville District (Central)	4,209	4,423	5,307	5,420
Franktown District (North)	5,797	5,756	5,435	5,109
Cape Charles, town	2,427	2,299	2,527	2,517
Eastville, town (County seat)	311	316	351	332
Exmore, town	1,362			

In addition to the three separately enumerated towns of Cape Charles, Exmore and Eastville, there are numerous other hamlets and villages with population below 500. The county as a whole has slowly lost population for the past 20 years. This loss reflects the trend to fewer and larger farms in a predominantly agricultural county.

In this county as in most rural areas of the South, segregation between whites and Negroes has been complete as regards housing, schooling, social, recreational and religious life. The population of the county in 1950 was a little more than 50 per cent Negro. The school enrollment at present is 63 per cent Negro.

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The Public School System of Virginia has been organized for local administration since 1921 into a series of Divisions. The Division is ordinarily equivalent to a county, although the law permits combinations of counties in a Division. Also a city may constitute a Division. Northampton County, for school administrative purposes, is a single and separate Division. We have here, in effect, a county unit system of school administration similar to that which prevails in Florida.

Northampton County stood thirty-ninth, in 1951-52, among the 100 counties of Virginia in expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance. The figure was $145.79. Among the 10 counties of comparable population in the state, Northampton stood fifth in expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance.

Separate analysis of instructional costs per white pupil and per Negro pupil at the elementary level reveals that this county stands fourth in expenditure per white pupil and ninety-fourth in expenditure per Negro pupil among the state's 100 counties. Since instructional salary scales are identical for white and Negro teachers with the same training and experience, this wide discrepancy is explained by the Divisional Superintendent as due to the excessively high teacher loads characterizing the Negro schools of the county. The instructional costs per pupil in average daily attendance in the county (1951-52 were Negro $60.72; white, $103.71).

Since Negro and white educational facilities are wholly segregated, and since the migrant families employed in the county are entirely Negro, the analysis of school facilities will deal with Negro schools only. At the time of the study, this county was in a period of transition in the matter of Negro school plants and facilities.

In the 1952-53 academic year, as the field study began, the county was operating nine Negro schools as described in Table 11.

Review of the Negro school properties and the reorganization which went into effect at the opening of the 1953-54 term reveal the following facts:

Capeville: A conventional type, two-story brick building. It has eleven classrooms and three auxiliary rooms. It was built originally as a white school. When turned over a few years ago to Negroes, it permitted the consolidation of several small, rural schools. It will continue as the elementary center for the southern end of the county.

Hare Valley: A one-story concrete block building containing at present seven standard classrooms and no special purpose rooms. Plans call for the continuation of this school, with the addition of

Table 11

NEGRO SCHOOLS OF NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1952-53 (SOURCE: OFFICE OF DIVISIONAL SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, NORTHAMPTON COUNTY)

School	*Date of Construction*	*Grades Taught*	*No. of Classrooms*	*No. of Auxiliary Rooms*	*Opening Enrollment 1952-53*
Bridgetown	1912	1-7	2	0	81
Capeville	....	1-7	11	3	514
Eastville	1936	1-7	4	0	193
Hare Valley	1950	1-7	7	0	367
Jamesville	1936	1-7	2	0	84
Nassawadox	1905	1-3	1	0	63
Treherneville	1904	1-7	2	0	91
County High	....	8-11	11	5	403
TOTALS			40	8	1796

two classrooms, as the elementary center for the northern end of the county. In the 1953 reorganization, pupils from Jamesville were consolidated here.

Machipongo: Prior to 1940 the only secondary facilities for Negroes was the Tidewater Institute at Chesapeake. This institution originated about 1900 from the efforts of Negro citizens who paid its entire cost until about 1930 when the county assumed half the cost. In 1940, the former white high school at Machipongo, a little north of the geographical center of the county was made available as a Negro county high school. It consisted of an old conventional, brick, two-story building and a make-shift frame annex with five classrooms, all of which opened separately and directly to the out-of-doors. Up to the present, this plant has contained the only Negro high school facilities available in the county. Grades 8 through 11 were housed here. No twelfth grade work was available to Negroes in this county.

Beginning in the fall of 1953, this plant was converted to an elementary center (Grades 1-7) for the mid-section of the county. Bridgetown, Eastville, Nassawadox and Treherneville elementary schools were consolidated at this center.

The Cape Charles Negro school, operated under a semi-autonomous board, is not included in this study.

Northampton County High School: This is a new construction, erected during the spring and summer of 1953 to replace the very inadequate high school plant described above. It is a modern-type, one-story building with 12 standard classrooms and special rooms for library, gymnasium, agriculture, home-making, cafeteria, guidance and band. It provides for all Negro pupils in the county above the seventh grade and will make twelfth grade work available to Negroes for the first time. This site now combines, therefore, the elementary center for the middle portion of the county and the high school center for the entire county.

Bridgetown, Eastville, Jamesville, Nassawadox and Treherneville. These five schools were eliminated after the close of the 1952-53 school year. All of these, except Eastville, were very old and run-down frame structures which have well earned their retirement from service. The Eastville building was a rather neat frame building built in 1936 but without water or central heat.

Summarizing the school plant situation as it appears at the close of our study, we find Negro education consolidated in four centers:

South—Capeville—Grades 1-7.
Central—Machipongo—Grades 1-12.
North—Hare Valley—Grades 1-7.
Independent—Cape Charles—Grades 1-7.

The annual school term is 180 days between early September and early June. No crop vacations are allowed.

C. Seguin Independent School District, Guadalupe County, Texas

Guadalupe County lies deep in the heart of Texas. Seguin, its county seat, is located 50 miles southwest of Austin and 35 miles northeast of San Antonio. It is not deep in the cotton-growing area. Although 461 of its 2232 farms were listed by the 1950 Census of Agriculture as "cotton farms," their total 38,022 acres in cotton gives the county a rank of only seventy-fifth in cotton acreage among the 254 counties of the Lone Star State.

Nevertheless, it is the presence of cotton which focuses attention upon Guadalupe County as one of the four local centers for the study of the education of migrant children. In small scale this county reveals many of the economic factors which underlie this problem across the American southland from Georgia to California wherever cotton is a major crop.

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

Despite a long history which links this area with the Spanish conquistadores and places the Spaniard De Vaca in the vicinity as early as 1535, the history of Guadalupe County as a settled and agricultural producing area dates from about 1836. This was the year Texas won her independence from Mexico and established herself as an independent republic.

Guadalupe County was created in 1846 out of portions of Gonzales and Bexar Counties. There have been one or two subsequent changes in its boundaries. It now consists of 457,600 acres, lying on both sides of the Guadalupe River.

It contains two dominant types of soil. A heavy black soil, good for cotton, corn, sorghum and forage crops, dominates the north and west portion. To the southeast, appears a lighter, red and grey, sandy soil. This is less productive but provides good grazing and poultry land. The average annual rainfall is 31 inches. Temperatures average 52.5 degrees in winter and 83.6 in summer.

The population composition of the county is complex, representing several waves of immigration. The original Spanish population strain has largely if not entirely disappeared. In succession came settlers from southeastern United States, from Germany and England. Negroes were brought as slaves by some of the earliest settlers.

Throughout most of its history, also, there has been a considerable population of Latin-Americans who find themselves in a somewhat anomalous position, in the community but never quite of it. Most of them are American citizens and all, of course, are of the white race (with some admixture, undoubtedly, of Indian blood). They are not subject to the specific and legal segregation encountered by Negroes in this Southern state. Yet they face always a subtle cultural segregation which their darker skin, their continued use of the Spanish language, and their Spanish names help to perpetuate. It was a significant break with tradition when a Latin American leader ran in 1951, even though unsuccessfully, for election to the Seguin School Board. It is this Latin-American community which includes the group of agricultural migrant families who are the concern of this study.

Population trends for Seguin and Guadalupe County are shown in Table 12.

Table 12

POPULATION OF GUADALUPE COUNTY, TEXAS AND SEGUIN CITY (SOURCE: EARLY ESTIMATES AND U. S. CENSUS OF POPULATION, SINCE 1910)

Date	*Guadalupe County*	*Seguin City*
1850	1,511 (about one half in Seguin)	
1860	5,444	
1910	24,913	3,131
1920	27,719	3,631
1930	28,925	5,225
1940	25,596	7,006
1950	25,392	9,733

These figures reveal that the county population reached its peak in 1930 and has since been declining. Seguin City, however, has continued to grow in each census period to the present. The population decline in the county is related to the fact that the farms are growing larger and fewer.

Table 13

NUMBER AND SIZE OF FARMS, GUADALUPE COUNTY, TEXAS (SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1940 AND 1950)

Date	*No. of Farms*	*Av. Size of Farms (acres)*
1930	3,820	90.0
1935	3,842	103.8
1940	2,757	129.5
1945	2,566	148.6
1950	2,232	161.0

The 1952-53 school census found the school children of the Seguin Independent School District divided as follows: Anglo, 39 per cent; Latin, 41 per cent; Negro 20 per cent.

The Superintendent estimates that these percentages would about hold for the total population of the District. The Latin-Americans have more children per family, but the Anglos probably balance up with more adults having no school-age children. It is also the Superintendent's estimate that the Latin population is increasing while the Negro population is about holding its own in numbers and constitutes a decreasing percentage of the population.

THE AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE

Corn, forage and cotton were the first crops to be raised in the county. Stock raising early became a major enterprise. The first settlers found large groves of wild pecan trees in the area. These were harvested commercially as early as 1846.

The first recorded cotton production was a two-bale crop by Joshua Young in 1848. His success led to wider planting in 1849. The local saw-and-grist mill saw fit to add a cotton gin in 1849. This was the first of many. At the peak of cotton production in the late 1920's there were 21 gins in the county processing about 40,000 bales annually.

Analysis of the county's present agricultural enterprise reveals corn, cotton and sorghum to be the major field crops. Together they accounted for 120,612 acres in 1949 according to the 1950 Census of Agriculture. The acreage of cotton was 38,022. The remainder of the county's 359,244 acres in farmland is represented in grazing land, pasture, hay meadow, minor cultivated crops and idle land.

The story of cotton in Guadalupe County is one of rise and decline. Acreage and production apparently expanded with the growth of population from 1850 to 1930. After the late 1920's when production reached its peak of around 40,000 bales, there was a sharp drop in production. In the 1930's production is locally reported to have fallen as low as 8,000 bales. The present production from 38,000 acres is normally about 15,000 bales. Eight gins now handle the crop in contrast to the 21 gins of the late 1920's.

Cotton harvesting in the United States has gone through four major stages of evolution: slave labor, sharecropper, wage labor and mechanical picker. Guadalupe County shared the first two of these phases and is now, at least temporarily, arrested in the third.

In the old plantation South, Negro slave labor harvested most of the cotton. Indeed it was cotton as much as any other factor which underlay the tenacious grip upon the southern economy of the slavery system which the Guadalupe County Democratic Convention of 1859 declared to be "a social and political blessing and morally right."

The post-bellum adjustment to the abolition of slavery was largely in terms of a sharecropping system. This system still prevails in some areas, especially in the Southeast. Two major factors have entered the picture in the past 20 years which have all but wiped out the sharecropper system in the central South, and undercut it everywhere. One of these is mechanization of cotton planting. It now becomes generally cheaper for the grower to hire seasonal labor for harvesting, and perhaps for chopping, on an hourly basis or piece rate, rather than to deal on a year-round basis with 'croppers.

The other factor working against sharecropping was an unpremeditated result of the government's agricultural conservation payment program. Under law, payments collected by landowners must be shared with tenants—but not with wage workers employed by the owner. Hence it became to the economic advantage of cotton planters to eliminate their sharecroppers even if they turned around and hired the same men back as wage workers.

It is reliably estimated that not over 25 of Guadalupe County's 461 cotton farms now employ sharecroppers. On the other hand, there are only two mechanical cotton pickers and no mechanical strippers in the county, and less than 5 per cent of the crop, by the County Agent's estimate is mechanically harvested. Thus Guadalupe County falls squarely into the third stage of evolution in this matter. It relies upon seasonal hired labor almost entirely for its cotton harvest.

The Texas Employment Service has no office in Guadalupe County and plays little part in farm labor procurement for the county. Consequently our figures on volume of seasonal farm labor are based on informed local estimates. An average worker can pull 300 to 400 pounds of cotton a day. If 15,000 bales, at 1600 pounds to the bale, is the normal harvest, this suggests a harvest labor requirement of about 70,000 man-days. The harvest season is roughly August 15 to October 15 or approximately 60 days. This would average out to a labor requirement of 1100 to 1200 throughout the harvest period. Since the harvest opens gradually and tapers off toward the end, a reasonable estimate is that growers will be seeking upwards of 2000 workers at the height of the harvest season.

THE MIGRANT AT HOME

To the question "Where is your home?" most migrants have an answer. It is not always the answer expected by the student of migrant life. In our Florida study, for example, we expected that most of the migrants, since they spend from five to eight months in the "Glades" area, would regard that as their home base. On the contrary, of 266 Negro families interviewed, only 32 per cent regarded Florida as home and still fewer gave the "Glades" communities as home base.

Not so the Spanish-American migrants who spend their winter in Seguin. To them Seguin is home in 100 per cent of the cases interviewed. Their viewpoint is confirmed by the surprising fact that 83.9 per cent of 162 interviewed families own their Seguin residences. These facts, rather than economic opportunity, apparently account for the presence of these people in Seguin. At any rate 35.8 per cent of the fathers and 93.2 per cent of the mothers were without employment during the seven days preceding the interview. Of the 76 cases where the weekly earnings of the father were reported, 53 earned less than $40 and none earned as much as $70 in the week preceding the interview. The two mothers who reported their earnings made less than $20 each.

There was, of course, no cotton to plant, chop or pick during the period of the field study (March 9 to April 17). Those who were working had found employment of other types, generally the most unskilled and lowest paid types of work in the community. For such, it is apparent that this is merely stop-gap work while they wait for the agricultural season to open up. To many of the migrant families, the four to six months annually spent in Seguin is a period of idleness and economic distress.

The migratory pattern of the families who live in Seguin is a twofold one. Some of them leave the community about June first or earlier for a long journey north into the fruit, vegetable and sugar-beet areas of Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois and Ohio. They will be gone continuously until October or November. Thus they miss the local cotton season entirely. The other group are the cotton pickers. About the first of June they go southeast into the Corpus Christi area for the early cotton. They return to Seguin early in September and may work awhile there before they take off for the Texas panhandle for the big cotton harvest which opens there late in September. They will return to Seguin in November or December.

The harvest labor force in Guadalupe County appears, then, to be composed of three strands: (a) some migrants whose home base is Seguin and who stop back there briefly between Corpus Christi harvest and the panhandle harvest; (b) some resident Spanish-Americans who do not migrate but who will work seasonally in the local harvest; (c) a group of Spanish-American migrants whose home is probably in the Rio Grande Valley and who are en route, following the cotton as it matures from south to north and west Texas.

This study involves the first of these groups exclusively. The second, of course, are not migrants. The third were not available for interviewing at the time of the field study. We were told, however, that none of their children enter the Seguin schools although they are in the area during a portion of the school term.

One of the complaints of local growers is that these people (group (a) and (c)) will leave Seguin and steady work in mid-harvest to trek 400 miles to the Panhandle of Texas in order to do the same kind of work there. Perhaps part of the answer is that the migrants know the western harvest will last several weeks after Guadalupe cotton is all in.

Whatever their motives, the fact remains that these people, in common with those who migrate to the upper Midwest, are generally out of the community for the first two to four months of the school year. Some may actually be in Seguin when schools open in early September, but knowing that they will be leaving for the panhandle in a couple of weeks, they neglect to enter their children in school. Or if their children are put in school at its opening, they are promptly jerked out again for the trek to the late cotton harvest.

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Texas school law permits cities to create so-called "independent" school districts. Such di[illegible]y embrace the schools of a single city, or may reach o[illegible]me country areas as well. The word "independen[illegible] removal from the jurisdiction of the County Superintendent's office. The Seguin Independent School District is one of these. Created by legislative enactment in 1914 the District has been enlarged several times by incorporation of neighboring school districts until it now covers a territory of 262 square miles or 40 per cent of the area of Guadalupe County. Its coverage is, generally speaking, the eastern portion of the county.

The consolidation of country school districts with the Seguin Independent District was expedited after 1949 by the enactment of a Minimum Foundation Program in Texas. As in Florida, this program is designed to provide undergirding by the State for local school finances. It also puts the Texas Education Agency in a strong position to encourage progressive action in such matters as consolidation.

The Seguin District in 1951-52 was reported by the Texas Education Agency as spending $194.88 per pupil in average daily attendance on education. This placed it fifteenth among the 37 districts of similar scholastic population (3000-5000). Average annual salary for white instructional staff in 1951-52 was $3445.47. This was $300 above the average for the State of Texas.

Except for one school in the small village of Staples (est. 150 population) near the northeast corner of the county, all rural schools in the district have been closed and their children are hauled by bus to the Seguin city schools. Table 14 indicates the white schools operating during 1952-53.

In addition to the schools reported in Table 14, there are three Negro schools, a Roman Catholic school for Anglos (St. Joseph), grades 1-8; and a Lutheran-sponsored school for first grade only (Anglo).

Since the concern of this study is with the Spanish-American migrant in Seguin, it is necessary to locate the Spanish-American children in Seguin schools. In contrast to the legal segregation of Negroes in Texas schools at the time of the study, segregation of Spanish-Americans on a nationality background basis is illegal. Despite this fact, a great many Texas communities have found ways of segregating their Spanish-American children in the schools.

In Seguin, the city is not zoned for purposes of elementary school attendance. The rule is that parents may register their children

Table 14

WHITE SCHOOLS OF SEGUIN INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT[6] (SOURCE: OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS)

Name of School	*Date of Construction*	*Grades Taught*	*No. of Classrooms*	*No. of Auxiliary Rooms*	*Opening Enrollment 1952-53*
(*PUBLIC*)					
Juan Seguin	Old Bldg. about 1910 New—1947	1-6	15	4	327
Jefferson Ave.	1936	1-6	6	1	257
F. C. Weinert	1948	1-6	12	1	536
Staples	1917	1-6	4	2	35
Mary B. Erskine	1914	7-9	18	8	382
Seguin High	1927	10-12	15	9	343
TOTALS			70	25	1880
(*ROMAN CATHOLIC*)					
Our Lady of Guadalupe	Old Bldg. undated New—about 1940	1-8	4	1	176

at the elementary school of their choice. This means that both Anglo and Latin parents have their choice of Juan Seguin, F. C. Weinert, and Jefferson Ave. elementary schools—and of course the two Catholic parochial schools.

What has ordinarily happened in practice is this: (a) Because of the pressure of custom most of the Latin parents automatically register their children at Juan Seguin Elementary School. (b) Because Anglo parents are generally more prompt about getting their children registered, some Latin parents who might seek to register at the other schools find them already filled to capacity. (c) So far as migrant Latin families are concerned, by the time they return to Seguin, the F. C. Weinert and Jefferson Ave. schools are invariably filled and such families have no choice except Juan Seguin. (d) It appears that F. C. Weinert and Jefferson Ave. have strictly limited capacities, not to be exceeded, whereas Juan Seguin seems to have an unlimited capacity to absorb all the Latin children who arrive late. Result: Most of the Latin elementary children, all the migrant children and virtually all of the over-crowding are concentrated at Juan Seguin. This excepts, of course, the migrant children who, because of their geographical location, attend the Staples school. It excepts also those who by choice, attend the Catholic parochial school, Our Lady of Guadalupe. On the other hand, the Anglo parents, exercising their free choice, enroll virtually none of their children at Juan Seguin.

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[6] Data is for 1952-53. Before the 1953-54 school year opened a new wing was built on the Seguin High School adding six new classrooms and a cafeteria. As a result, Grade 9 was transferred to the high school, and the sixth grades were moved from Juan Seguin, Jefferson Ave., and F. C. Weinert to Mary B. Erskine Junior High. This is regarded as temporary since construction is about to begin on a new high school building. When it is completed, the junior high will be moved to the present enlarged high school building and appropriate adjustments will be made in the housing of elementary grades.

This pattern of practical segregation is apparently breaking down. There is evidence that each year more Latin parents take the initiative in registering their children at F. C. Weinert and Jefferson Ave. It is still predictable that all migrant children who return to school in Seguin after the first month will be found at Juan Seguin.

At the junior and senior high school levels, of course, all Latin children who remain in school attend the same schools as other white children. The drop-out rate for Latin children is very high. The 1952-53 Latin-American enrollment at the Mary B. Erskine Junior High School was Grade 7-43; Grade 8-37; Grade 9-21. For migrant pupils in that year, the comparable figures were Grade 7-20; Grade 8-11; Grade 9-4.

In view of the concentration of migrant children at Juan Seguin, Staples and Guadalupe Schools, the attention in this study has been confined largely to these three schools. The school term in Seguin District is 175 days, from early September to the end of May.

D. Hoopeston-Milford and Rossville Districts, Vermilion and Iroquois Counties, Illinois

A sign at the outskirts of Hoopeston, Illinois, informs the motorist that he is entering "The Sweet Corn Capital of the World." The world is a large place, and the sign has been there a long time. Nevertheless, the Hoopeston-Milford-Rossville communities of east central Illinois make a substantial bid for this title by the large volume of sweet corn and vegetables which they pack annually.

Hoopeston, the centrally located and largest of these three communities, lies just about 100 miles due south of Chicago and seven miles from the Indiana state line. It is in Vermilion County (county seat, Danville) as is Rossville, its neighbor six miles to the south. Two miles north of Hoopeston lies the Vermilion-Iroquois County line. Milford, the third community is in Iroquois County, (county seat, Watseka) 12 miles north of Hoopeston.

The land area of these two counties lying along the Indiana border, totals 1,292,800 acres, slightly more than the area of Palm Beach County, Florida. The area which produces for the Hoopeston-Milford-Rossville canneries, however, is much more restricted. It covers, although not to the exclusion of other agricultural enterprises, a scant half of Vermilion County, less than a fourth of Iroquois County and small portions of Ford and Champaign Counties to the west. It may also extend slightly into Indiana to the east, although other canneries in that section of Indiana handle most of the crops grown across the line.

A rough estimate would be about 500,000 acres of land within the boundaries of the area which concerns this study. Only a small portion of this acreage, not much over 20,000 acres is devoted to sweet corn, asparagus, tomatoes and pumpkin, which are packed by the canneries. The major land-using crops in the area are field corn, soybeans, oats and wheat.

From estimates given by canning company representatives it would appear that both asparagus and sweet corn acreage have expanded since the 1949 reports were made to the federal census.

Table 15

ACREAGES IN VEGETABLE CROPS—HOOPESTON-MILFORD-ROSSVILLE AREA, ILLINOIS

Crop	*Acres, 1953 Estimate by Company Representatives*	*Acres, 1949 Reported by the Census of Agriculture*
Sweet corn	21,400	16,585
Asparagus	3,000	1,665
Tomatoes	400	623
Pumpkin	400	(not reported)

In 1878 a pioneer family established the Illinois Canning Company and started canning corn at Hoopeston. Its "Joan of Arc" and "Pride of Illinois" brands are well-known throughout the Midwest. It is still the largest of the local canneries, operating two plants at Hoopeston and another at Fowler, Indiana. The company packs sweet corn, asparagus, tomatoes, tomato juice, tomato puree, peas and beans.

The other three canneries now operating were established at later dates: Hoopeston Canning Company (now a branch of Stokely Food Company) in the 1880's; the Rossville Canning Company, 1910; the Milford Canning Company, 1912. They, like Illinois Canning, began with sweet corn and more recently have added asparagus. Stokely also cans a small pack of pumpkin.

The soil in the area, predominantly a clay and sandy loam, has proved an excellent soil for sweet corn, and also for tomatoes and asparagus. Asparagus appears to be the coming crop in the area. Its acreage is expanding. Asparagus seed requires a year of special cultivation before being transplanted to permanent fields. It then must be cultivated and sprayed for at least two years to allow its root system to become established before harvesting can take place. The third year a light cutting may be had. Thereafter, if all goes well, the bed can be harvested for a seven- to eight-week season annually for upwards to 15 years without replanting. The cutting, or more recently snapping, of asparagus tips is the work which creates a high seasonal demand for "stoop" labor.

Because of the long-term characteristic of an asparagus bed, the canning companies have acquired ownership of a large portion (probably 85 per cent) of their asparagus acreage. Where they lack ownership they seek long-term leases and manage the acreage themselves. Tomato and sweet corn acreage, on the contrary, is generally owned by individual farmers who sign a contract for the crop in advance of the season with one or another canning company. Figures on annual pack run as follows:

	Annual Total Pack, in Cases (case contains 24 one-pound cans)
Illinois Canning	2,750,000
Milford	800,000
Stokely	600,000
Rossville	350,000
Total	4,500,000

These figures include a certain volume of beans which are not grown locally and probably some tomatoes which are hauled from Indiana.

LABOR SUPPLY

The canning companies in this area assume full charge of the recruitment, placement and housing of seasonal field labor. This is naturally their responsibility in the case of asparagus where they own the fields and manage the entire operation. In the case of corn and tomatoes, although the contract makes the grower responsible for planting, cultivating and delivering the crop to the cannery, in practice, the companies without exception provide the harvest labor. The field labor in this area thus becomes, in a very real sense, an extension outdoors of the over-all industrial operation. Although small in comparison to many other specialty crop areas, it furnishes in miniature a good picture of the system often called factories-in-the-fields.

Prior to World War II local labor supply was adequate to meet the seasonal demand. During the war, expanding acreages and local labor shortages led to the establishment in the area of a prisoner-of-war camp whose inmates were used as harvest labor.

Only since the war has the practice of importing migratory labor grown up in this area. Principal reliance is upon Spanish-American labor from the Rio Grande Valley of Texas. For a brief time, all three of the Vermilion County plants imported Puerto Ricans and British West Indians. Since 1948, however, no Puerto Ricans have come and only the Stokely Company uses B.W.I.'s.

The harvest calendar is approximately as follows:

Asparagus	May 1 to June 30
Sweet corn	August 2 to September 8
Tomatoes	August 10 to September 10
Pumpkin	September 20 to November 1

Since only one of the companies handles pumpkin and its labor requirements are low, we may say the major harvest season extends from May 1 to September 10 with a significant gap in the month of July. Several of the companies have formed the practice of lending their labor to hybrid seed corn companies in the vicinity for de-tasselling field corn during this period.

Because of the very considerable mechanization which has taken place in sweet corn harvesting (70 per cent for the two Hoopeston Companies, 80 per cent at Rossville, 100 per cent in Milford) the labor requirements of asparagus and sweet corn appear to be fairly well-balanced. With some interchange between field and plant labor, plus the tomato harvest at Illinois Canning, the companies have worked out a relatively stable labor situation for the harvest season.

Estimated migratory labor requirements quoted by representatives of the four companies total 660 workers. Stokely maintains its own recruiting agency in the Rio Grande Valley. All the others rely on the Employment Service for recruiting. Each of the companies provides housing, rent-free, for its migratory labor. The camps provide the following numbers of family dwelling units: Illinois Canning, 55; Stokely, 40; Milford, 39; Rossville, 17; Total, 151.

THE COMMUNITIES

The three towns involved in this study are, in appearance, pleasant and rather typical mid-continent prairie towns. Their recent population history is one of relative stability.

Table 16

POPULATION, HOOPESTON-MILFORD-ROSSVILLE AREA, ILLINOIS (SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS OF POPULATION, 1940 AND 1950)

Town	*1950*	*1940*	*1930*	*1920*
Hoopeston	5992	5581	5613	5451
Milford	1648	1628	1442	1466
Rossville	1382	1428	1453	1588

Rossville, the smallest, shows a persistent, but very gradual decline in population. The other two fluctuate, but in general have grown slightly over the past 30 years.

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Illinois possesses nothing in school administration comparable to the county unit system of Florida or the divisional system in Virginia. Here the local school district is an autonomous unit except insofar as it is required to conform to certain state prescribed standards to qualify for state financial aid. The county superintendent has some regulatory functions with respect to the state standards; he handles certification of teachers; and he administers the non-consolidated rural schools of the county. Otherwise his functions are largely advisory and coordinating.

This study of the Hoopeston-Milford-Rossville area deals with three separate and largely independent school systems. Each of the three is organized differently.

Hoopeston has one school district embracing both the high school and the three elementary schools, Honeywell, Lincoln and Maple. Milford has separate school districts for the high school and the grade school. The high school district covers considerably more territory than the grade school district. Rossville has separate school districts and separate school boards for high school and grade school, but both districts are identical geographically, and the two boards jointly employ the same Superintendent of Schools. This study concerned itself only with elementary schools in this center since virtually no migrant children enter the high schools.

Table 17 shows the per pupil expenditure for elementary school operation in the three districts as well as their standing among comparable districts in the state of Illinois.

Table 17

PER PUPIL COSTS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL OPERATION, HOOPESTON, MILFORD AND ROSSVILLE DISTRICTS OF ILLINOIS (SOURCE: 1951 REPORT OF STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION)

	Per Pupil Cost	*Standing Among Comparable Districts in Ill.*		*State Average for Comparable Districts*
Town	*1950-51*	*Rank*	*No. of Districts*	
Hoopeston	$116.31	290th	304	$198.52
Milford	187.98	312th	1031	185.69
Rossville	170.98	435th	1031	185.69

According to these figures in 1950-51 Hoopeston and Rossville were spending below average per pupil for school operation while Milford was slightly above the average in Illinois. Average annual teachers' salaries are reported on a county basis only. For districts in Vermilion County of the type which includes Hoopeston, the average salary was $3928.59; for those of the type including Rossville, $2522.96. In Iroquois County, districts of the type including

Milford paid average salaries of $2513.04. These figures are hardly comparable, however, since the figures for Vermilion County districts including Hoopeston embrace high school as well as elementary salaries. They also include the figures for the rather large neighboring city of Danville.

Turning from general statistics to specific local schools, this study is interested in five elementary schools.

Table 18

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF HOOPESTON-MILFORD-ROSSVILLE DISTRICTS, ILLINOIS (SOURCE: OFFICES OF DISTRICT SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS)

School	*Date of Construction*	*Grades Taught*	*No. of Classrooms*	*No. of Auxiliary Rooms*	*Opening Enrollment 1952-53*
Hoopeston					
Honeywell	1927	1-8	13	5	354
Lincoln	....	1-8	11	2	304
Maple	1949	1-8	9	5	252
Milford	1902	1-8	9[7]	4	280
Rossville	1889	1-8	11	2	376
TOTALS			53	18	1566

The normal school year in all of these schools is 180 days or more, between early September and early June. No crop vacations are taken.

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[7] A special migrant school is operated in Milford during May in a two-room building at the Milford Canning Company. These two rooms are additional to the nine reported here.

CHAPTER II

A Brief Profile of 665 Migrant Families

SINCE the information acquired from interviews with migrant families constitutes a major portion of this report, it will be well, before plunging into the educational data, to describe the process used in selecting the sample and to characterize briefly the 665 migrant families who comprise it.

"Migrant family" for purposes of this study was defined as a family "which has moved at least once across a county line, within the past 12 months for the purpose of seeking or engaging in agricultural labor."

The field staff called upon an estimated 35 per cent of the migrant families available in Northampton County, Virginia, during the 1952-53 season; approximately 50 per cent of the Negro and 85 per cent of the white migrant families resident in the "Glades" area, Palm Beach County, Florida, at the time of the study; virtually all of the migrant families in Seguin and Staples, Texas; and all the migrant families in the Hoopeston-Milford-Rossville area of Illinois.

Interviews were conducted with only those families who had children between the ages of six and 18 years inclusive. Out of 1430 families called upon, 665 passed these two tests of (a) migrancy within 12 months past and (b) children, age 6-18. All of these were interviewed. The field staff met with no refusals to give information.

In the case of Florida (Negro) and Virginia where the numbers involved dictated sampling rather than virtually full coverage, care was taken that the families interviewed should be an unbiased random sample of the total migratory group in the area. All families were interviewed by field workers of their own race and nationality background. Special effort was made to win the interviewee's confidence. The field staff, most of whom were trained in field research, are unanimous in feeling that the information imparted to them will rate very high on the scale of reliability for field data of this type.

The family interviewing was all done during 1953 and while local schools were in session. The timetable was: Florida between January 12 and April 12, Virginia during May and the latter half of September, Texas between March 9 and April 17, and Illinois during the first two weeks of May. In 67.7 per cent of the cases the interviews were conducted with the mother; in 26 per cent with the father. In the remaining few cases the informant was a grandparent, an older child or some other relative.

Virtually all the Florida Negro families lived either in publicly owned camps (45.5 per cent) or in quarters rented from a landlord (51.5 per cent). Of the Florida white sample 87.1 per cent lived in the publicly owned camps. Of this white sample, 8.6 per cent own their own homes. There is very little migrant housing on grower property in these communities. In Virginia, 56.3 per cent of our interviews came from the camps owned by the County Farm Bureau; 40.8 per cent from growers' camps. In Texas, a surprising 83.9 per cent of the families interviewed claimed ownership of their own homes; 9.9 per cent were living in rented property, and 6.2 per cent were residing on the property of growers. In Illinois all migrants live in the camps provided by the four canning companies.

Analysis of the dwellings in which these families were found, by type, revealed 358 in houses of more than one room; 294 in one-room cabins or barracks; nine in quonset huts; four unreported. None were living in tents, trucks or trailers when interviewed.

To the surprise of the field staff, most of the Florida group, although spending from five to eight months in the "Glades" area, do not regard this as "home." When asked to name their home base, only 32 per cent of the Negroes and 21.4 per cent of the whites named Florida, and for many of these "home" was in some other section of Florida. Forty-five and nine-tenths per cent of the Negroes and 18.6 per cent of the whites think of Georgia as home base. Most of the remaining Negroes in the Florida sample cited southeastern states as home. The Florida white groups reported home bases scattered over nearly all the southern states with Missouri ranking next (15.8 per cent) after Florida and Georgia.

The Virginia group cited South Atlantic states as home base in 95.8 per cent of the cases, with Florida accounting for more than half of all cases; Georgia next. Home base for all families in the Texas and Illinois samples was Texas.

It was reported by 585 families that their home base residence was a house of more than one room; only 23 described their home base residence as a one-room shelter (57 not reported).

Thirty-eight per cent claimed ownership of a home at the home base; 25.4 per cent rented from a landlord and 12.5 per cent lived in grower property at the home base; 9.9 per cent lived with relatives and 4.5 per cent gave a public camp as home base (not reported or other, 9.7 per cent).

Examination of the citizenship status of the Spanish-American sample reveals that the heads of families interviewed were approximately two-thirds American citizens; one-third Mexican. The proportions for Texas and Illinois were almost identical.

Fifty per cent of the families interviewed had been at their present residence between 10 and 19 weeks; 34.5 per cent had been resident less than 10 weeks; the remainder, 20 weeks or more. Only 1.5 per cent had been over 29 weeks in residence. Of some significance for the findings on school enrollment may be the fact that most of the interviews had to be conducted in Virginia and in Illinois within the first two or three weeks after arrival of the families. Thus all but two of the Virginia families reported less than four weeks continuous residence in the county at the time of the interview; and all but one of the Illinois families reported less than five weeks of residence. By contrast, 90 per cent of the Florida Negro families and 90.7 per cent of the Texas families had been more than 10 weeks in residence when interviewed.

The 498 fathers whose age was reported represented an age range from about 20 years to over 65. The percentage in each five-year interval increased from 20-24 to 40-44. After age 45, the number in each five-year interval decreased. The median age was 40-44. The Florida white fathers were relatively a little younger than the average. The distribution of ages of the mothers followed a similar curve, but reached its peak in the age bracket 35-39 years.

The families ranged from one to over 30 years experience as agricultural migrants. For the whole sample, percentages were:

Years as Migrants	*Per cent of Sample*
1	9.3
2-4	29.6
5-9	34.6
10-14	17.9
15-19	4.4
20-24	1.5
25-29	.6
30 or more	.4
Not reported	1.7

The Florida white group had a significantly higher percentage of newcomers to the migratory experience. Twenty-two and nine-tenths per cent were reported as first year migrants and 71.5 per cent have been migrant less than five years. Inquiring informally into the causes of migrancy among this particular group, the field staff reported that it was usually some accident, catastrophe or illness which had uprooted these families and started them on the road. The Virginia sample also furnished a disproportionately high percentage of short-time migrants: 18.3 per cent migratory for the first time, 43.7 per cent migratory 2-4 years.

Of 476 fathers reported, 29.8 per cent began agricultural work before the age of 15 and 49.8 per cent before the age of 20. The same information reported for 586 mothers revealed that 30 per cent began agricultural work before age 15; 47.8 per cent before age 20 and an additional 14.7 per cent between the ages of 20 and 25.

Analysis of household composition revealed that 75 per cent of the families had both father and mother present. The Florida Negro group was lowest in this tabulation with only 64.3 per cent having both parents. The Virginia sample had both parents in 66.2 per cent of the cases. Mothers were present in 97.3 per cent of the families of the entire sample. It was the absence of fathers which produced so large a proportion of broken homes in the Negro samples.

The average size of household including all relatives was 6.1 persons. The Spanish-American households were significantly larger than the Negro or white Anglos. Household size, in the respective study centers, averaged: Florida (Negro) 5.6; Florida (white) 5.8; Virginia, 4.6; Texas 7.3; and Illinois, 6.8.

There were 2783 children found in these 665 migrant families. Of these, 690 were under six years of age and for them no information was gathered except their names and ages. For each of the 2093 children 6 years and over, information was sought pertaining to school and work history. Of the 2093 children, 225 were over 18 years of age, leaving 1862 children presently within the normal elementary and secondary school ages, 6-18 inclusive (6 not reported). By sex, the 2093 children were divided 52.9 per cent male and 47.1 per cent female.

CHAPTER III

School Enrollment and Attendance

> It was the conclusion . . . that most of the truant officers reflected community sentiment regarding the question of school attendance of migrant children. Where the community felt that "migrants are dirty and undesirable citizens who have a lot of illegitimate children" . . . truant officers tended to give the problem as little attention as possible . . . Where the community felt, "These people are a part of the American people and it is our obligation to improve their opportunities since they do for our state what we won't do for it ourselves"—then the attitude of the truant officers was to "do our best to get and keep those kids in school." (Thomas and Taylor: *Migrant Farm Labor in Colorado*, p. 89)

THE FIRST educational problem confronting both migrant families and schools is getting migrant children enrolled in school and keeping them in regular attendance during their residence in the community. This chapter reports the data accumulated by the study pertaining to school enrollment and attendance among migrant children. It also summarizes the attendance laws and practices in the states and localities represented in the study and makes an analysis of the reasons given by migrant parents for the non-enrollment of some of their school-age children.

EXTENT OF SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

Table 19 summarizes the school enrollment status of the 1862 children, age 6-18 inclusive, in the 665 families interviewed.

The legal compulsory school age in each of the four states is from the seventh to the sixteenth birthday. Within this age bracket (7-15 inclusive), 78 per cent of the children were reported as enrolled in school. For the six-year-olds, only 48.9 per cent were in school. The drop-out rate at the sixteenth birthday is very sharp as revealed by the fact that only 14.9 per cent of the youth, age 16-18, were in school. These figures may be compared with over-all United States school enrollment figures as given in the 1950 census. These show that 95.7 per cent of all children age 7-13

Table 19

ENROLLMENT STATUS OF MIGRANT CHILDREN (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

	Total No. of Children (Age 6-18)	*Total in School*		*In School by Age Groups*					
				Age 6		*7-15*		*16-18*	
		No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Total Sample	1862	1210	64.9	90	48.9	1075	78.0	45	14.9
Florida, Negro	689	534	77.4	53	72.6	455	88.0	26	26.2
Florida, White	185	137	74.0	16	80.0	118	87.4	3	10.0
Virginia	160	22	13.8	7	22.6	15	13.0	..	...
Texas	538	378	70.3	9	23.6	356	89.0	13	13.0
Illinois	290	139	47.9	5	22.7	131	62.4	3	5.2

are enrolled in school; 92.9 per cent of children, age 14-15; and 74.4 per cent of children, age 16-17.

When we turn from the totals to the separate centers we find wide variations in enrollment figures which call for further analysis.

None of these states places any legal or administrative obstacles in the way of school enrollment by migrants. All four of the states and all of the local administrative districts assume full responsibility for providing elementary and secondary school facilities for all children within their boundaries. No length-of-residence requirements were found as barriers to school enrollment. Nor was there any hint that this obligation was not recognized as extending to minority racial and nationality background groups.

The wide variation in effective discharge of this recognized responsibility among the four study centers is related in part to the migratory pattern and in part to local resources, practices and attitudes.

In the "Glades" area, the Negro population in the winter months consists predominantly of migrant agricultural workers. Many of the non-migrant families are only a few years removed from migrancy. Although, as was remarked in Chapter II, most of these migrant families do not regard the "'Glades" as "home," it is nevertheless their residence, generally speaking from late October to the end of April. Except for the small group of merchants and professional people, virtually all "Glades" Negroes work in the winter vegetables harvest. There may be some, but not much, social class distinction between migratory and non-migratory seasonal field workers.

The Negro school facilities in the area have been greatly expanded and improved within the past five years by the erection of the Lake Shore and Rosenwald Elementary Schools. High school facilities are presently inadequate, but plans are under way for a new Negro high school. Within the past five years, also, a Negro attendance officer has been employed for full-time work in the "Glades" area.

An indirect but substantial factor contributing to school enrollment has been the 1949 amendment to the federal Fair Labor Standards Act. This amendment prohibits the employment of children in agriculture below the age of 16 during periods when schools are in session in the district. It applies to crops which move in interstate commerce. This is not a school attendance law, but by prohibiting employment in the fields, it releases school-age children for school attendance. Although by no means universally enforced or observed, this law has drastically reduced child labor during school hours and correspondingly increased school enrollment and attendance. At least the "Glades" communities are no longer treated, as formerly, to the spectacle of growers' trucks pulling up to the schoolyards during school hours and loading children wholesale for work in the fields.

All these factors have contributed to give this group of migrants the highest percentage (77.4 per cent) of school enrollment in our study.

The white migrants in these same "Glades" communities constitute, sociologically, quite a different pattern. They are fewer in number and comprise but a small fraction of the total white population of the area at any time. Most of them come from rural areas in other southeastern states which they regard as home. Their stay in the "Glades" is generally speaking somewhat briefer than that of the Negroes.

In other places most of them work in agriculture, either as hired labor or sharecroppers. Here they find work in the packing sheds where they are covered under the federal 75 cents-per-hour minimum wage. Their children below the age of 16 are not eligible for packing-shed work and consequently are not under the same pressures and temptations to remain out of school or to skip school as their Negro neighbors may be. A white attendance officer labors to enforce school attendance laws. Most of the white migrant families (87.1 per cent) live in the two publicly operated labor camps where they and their children are relatively easily found and checked upon.

Under these circumstances, 80 per cent of the 6-year-olds and 87.4 per cent of the 7-15-year age group were found enrolled in school. Noticeable, however, is the extreme drop to 10 per cent enrollment which occurs after the sixteenth birthday, which is the maximum age of compulsory attendance.

The situation in the Seguin School District of Texas, the other "home base" situation, is again different, but comes out with only a slightly lower percentage of enrollment. Here the migrant group is of substantial size although a relatively small proportion of the total population. This is honestly and admittedly their "home base"; yet their annual period of residence is somewhat shorter than that of the Florida Negro group because of their late return from the western Texas cotton harvest.

These Spanish-American migrant children are not legally segregated but in practice they are all relegated to the Juan Seguin and the Staples public schools or Guadalupe Roman Catholic school. This means that some of them have over a mile and a half to walk to school, which may account in part for the low percentage of enrollment among six-year-olds.

As in Palm Beach County, the school authorities have seen wisdom in employing an attendance officer of the same ethnic background. The general testimony is that enrollment and attendance have improved in the few years since his employment. There is no agricultural employment available in this community during most of the school year to compete with school enrollment.

Here we find the highest percentage of enrollment (89 per cent) through the compulsory ages, but very low percentages among the 6-year group, (23.6 per cent) and the 16-18 year group (13 per cent).

In Illinois and Virginia we face a very different set of conditions. In both cases the residence of the migrant families which coincides with the school term is to be measured in weeks rather than months. Here also the migrants are but a small fraction of the total permanent population.

The Hoopeston-Milford-Rossville situation presents three distinct factors favorable to school enrollment and at least three unfavorable factors. On the positive side are (a) the fact that all migrants are housed in four compact labor camps under canning company control and easily accessible to those who would persuade or enforce school enrollment; (b) a definite and sustained community campaign in Hoopeston to "do something for the migrants" and specifically to get them into school; (c) in the case of Hoopeston, at the time this movement started, a surplus of classroom space due to the erection of a new elementary school.

On the negative side must be weighed the facts that (a) these migrants being Spanish-American, are of an ethnic background quite strange and "foreign" to the permanent Anglo population; (b) they arrive very late in the school year (late April and early May) when only three to five weeks of school remain; and (c) one of the three communities, Rossville, has had neither surplus space in its elementary school nor any discernible community interest in getting these children enrolled.

The percentage of enrollment for these three communities was 47.9 per cent. Here, as in Texas, the Spanish-Americans show a tendency not to enroll their 6-year-olds. And as everywhere, the percentage of those in school after the sixteenth birthday is very low.

The extremely low percentage figures for migrant enrollment in Northampton County, Virginia, call for explanation. Several factors appear to be involved. The period of residence is relatively short and is divided between the last few weeks of school in the spring and a few weeks in the fall. Fall enrollment may be further handicapped by the fact that school has already been open two or three weeks before most migrants return from the North. The Negro schools of the county are already badly overcrowded with resident children before the migrants arrive. There is no attendance officer in the county. There is some evidence of economic rivalry and social hostility between the permanent Negro population of the county and the migrants. This may be reflected in lowered incentive for school enrollment.

Although we were prevented from securing conclusive evidence on this point, it may also be suspected that many families whose children have worked during the vacation months in the North see this sojourn in Virginia as a last chance to capitalize on the children's earning capacity before their return to home base and school in Florida.

THE NON-ENROLLED CHILDREN

Turning now to the 652 children, age 6-18, found not enrolled in school among the 665 families, Table 20 reports the principal reasons cited by informants for non-enrollment of these children.

Table 20

REASONS CITED FOR NON-ENROLLMENT IN SCHOOL (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

	Total	*Ages of Children*												
Reasons		*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*11*	*12*	*13*	*14*	*15*	*16*	*17*	*18*
Working in agriculture	208	..	1	3	1	6	3	7	12	19	28	63	37	28
Arrived too late or too recently	106	11	17	13	10	10	13	9	9	6	5	2	1	..
No interest	70	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	15	18	27	4
Too old	51	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	7	13	29
Sickness or physical handicap	24	2	6	3	..	2	..	..	1	4	1	3	1	1
Caring for younger children	20	1	2	1	1	1	..	5	5	3	1	..	..	..
Rejected by the school	9	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Married	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	1	2
Working at home	7	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	..	..
No clothes	5	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Other reasons	115	57	6	1	2	2	2	5	2	8	5	9	13	3
No reason given	30													

"Working in agriculture" is the reason most frequently given for non-enrollment. Of the 80 cases of children within the compulsory school ages so reported, the Florida Negro sample reported 34; Virginia, 21; Illinois, 17; Texas, 7; Florida, white, 1.

The reasons which are summarized as "arrived too late or too recently" were characteristic of the Virginia and Illinois interviews. Sixty-five of the 106 children thus accounted for were in Virginia; 30 were in Illinois. It is true that in several cases these interviews were taken within a few days of the family's arrival. Some of these children may have entered school at a later date. The general impression of the interviewers was, however, that this reason, or equivalent, might have been given at any time during the relatively brief residence of these families in their "on-the-road" locations.

"No interest" was a characteristic answer of the Spanish-American informants who thus accounted for non-enrollment of 14-16-year-olds. All but two of the children characterized as "too old" for school were actually above the compulsory age limit. The cases cited as due to "sickness or physical handicap" were not numerous and in the main appeared to the interviewer to be legitimate.

Twenty children were reported out of school to care for younger brothers and sisters at home. All of these 20 were within the legal compulsory age brackets. The nine 6-year-olds reported to have been rejected by the school were all in Palm Beach County. They appear to have been victims of a ruling which says that 6-year-olds who fail to enter school during the first month may not be accepted until the following year.

Half of the 115 cases for which "other reasons" were cited were 6-year-olds and the reasons given amounted to saying that the parents felt the children to be too young to start school. No cases were reported out of school because no school was available.

Analysis of reasons for non-enrollment by sex of the child reveals that "working in agriculture" was the only category in which the boys significantly outnumbered the girls, the ratio being about three boys to two girls in this category. Caring for young children, marriage, working at home and lack of clothes were reasons for non-enrollment predominantly assigned to the girls.

Quite naturally those who give over-age, lack of interest and marriage as their reasons for non-enrollment are not expected to re-enter school. Those whose reasons are sickness or physical handicap, caring for young children, and working at home are about evenly divided between those who are and are not expected to re-enter school. About a third of those whose principal reason for non-enrollment is agricultural work expect to re-enter. On the other hand, almost all whose reason for non-enrollment was late or recent arrival in this place, indicate intention to re-enter school here or elsewhere at some later time.

Correlation of reasons cited for non-enrollment with years of agricultural migrancy reveals one fact worthy of note. About 30 per cent of the informants claiming "late" or "recent" arrival as the reason for non-enrollment were first-year migrants. This suggests that inexperience and unfamiliarity with the migratory pattern of life may be a contributing factor in failure promptly to enroll children in school at new locations.

Several comparisons were made between the families reporting some school-age children out of school and those reporting none out of school. Of the 659 families for whom this information was given 372 or 56.4 per cent reported some children not enrolled in school; 287 reported all school-age children enrolled.

Those families whose home base was in the South Atlantic states (primarily the Negro and white Anglo groups) showed 46.5 per cent of families with children out of school compared to 71.8 per cent of Texas-based families (Spanish-American). Three-quarters of the families with less than 10 weeks' residence at their present location had children out of school; somewhat less than half those with longer residences reported the same. This reveals the tendency of migratory families to delay getting the children into school on arrival at a new location. It further suggests that reducing the number of moves and lengthening the span of employment might result in a more than proportionate increase in the schooling received by the children.

In general, the greater the number of children in the family, the greater likelihood that some are not enrolled in school. The extremes in this regard were reflected by the fact that 36.8 per cent of families having one child failed to have him enrolled while in the case of families with seven children or more, 83.5 per cent had some children out of school.

The younger mothers tended to have fewer children out of school. Forty-two per cent of the mothers under age 35 had children out of school compared to 67 per cent of those above 35 years. The more years the mother had attended school, the less was the likelihood that she would have children not in school. The percentages of families with some non-enrollees, by the mother's years in school were as follows:

No. of Years Schooling of Mother	*Per cent of Families Reporting some non-enrolled children*
None	76.9
1-3	69.7
4-6	51.7
7 or more	41.5

ATTENDANCE

For information concerning attendance rates among migrant children, the study relied on school records rather than the family interviews. But first let us take a look at the prevailing attendance laws and practices.

The attendance laws in Florida and Illinois require regular attendance for the full term of school. Here a firm legal basis is established for the efforts of attendance officers and others to keep migrant children regularly in school.

In Texas, the law requires 120 days of attendance during the 175-day school term. In other words, a migrant child—any child—may be absent up to about one-third of the time without violation of the attendance law. To avoid complete chaos, the Texas Education Agency has ruled that each school district shall define and announce a period of 120 consecutive days during the school year to be known as the compulsory attendance period. Only during this period can legal sanctions be invoked to support the efforts of attendance officers. Thus, for example, the compulsory attendance period in the Seguin School District is October 12 to April 23. It is not by chance that the beginning of this period roughly coincides with the conclusion of the local cotton harvest. Happily, however, the compulsory period covers virtually the full period of residence of most of the migrant families who make Seguin their winter home.

Virginia law purports to require full attendance, but is so worded that no action can be taken unless a child has been absent three consecutive days without excuse. Thus a migrant child can skip two days and attend one for as long as he likes without fear of legal reprisal.

Palm Beach County employs a Negro and a white attendance officer. Seguin District has a Spanish-American attendance officer. Vermilion County's regular attendance officers are aided to some extent unofficially in the migrant camps by the Home Mission worker. Northampton County has no attendance officers, either white or colored.

Table 21 summarizes the information given by the teachers on 1719 migrant children enrolled in their rooms during the 1952-53 school year. The percentages which appear in the table represent the average number of days present as a percentage of the number of days enrolled.

Table 21

DAYS OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AS PERCENTAGE OF DAYS ENROLLED (SOURCE: 1719 MIGRANT PUPIL CARDS)

	Florida		*Virginia*	*Texas*	*Illinois*
	Negro	*White*			
No. Sampled	1079	115	47	349	129
Grade					
1	94.0%	91.2%	79.0%	75.0%	89.9%
2	89.4	95.0	75.2	82.0	91.3
3	89.9	97.0	79.0	76.2	89.9
4	87.8	87.8	68.5	79.8	84.5
5	88.8	94.7	70.5	86.1	93.6
6	88.3	93.1	86.6	81.0	97.1
7	92.3	89.6	46.7	87.2	....
8	92.9	93.9	92.5	82.8	61.1
9	89.1	87.8	....	....	....
10	96.0	....	....	....	....
11	98.2	....	....	....	....
12	90.2	....	....	....	....

These figures will not bear a very heavy load of analysis or comparison for several reasons. First, most local and state statistical reports on attendance relate attendance to enrollment. In such comparisons the total enrollment of the year is used without regard for the length of time enrolled by the pupils. To compare such percentages with those in Table 21 would be meaningless. Thus, for example, in Palm Beach County which compiles figures on both total enrollment and average daily membership, it appears that in

1952-53, average daily attendance was 96.9 per cent of average daily membership, but only 82.6 per cent of total enrollment. The former figure is properly comparable to our statistics on migrant children in Table 21, but this is the only study center for which such a figure is available.

A second weakness of this tabulation for comparative purposes is the disparity in the size of the various samples, ranging from 1079 children in a Florida Negro group to 47 children in Northampton County, Virginia.

Most serious is the doubt thrown on the validity of some of the attendance reporting by the comments of teachers and administrators and by the wide discrepancies which appeared between attendance rates from room to room in the same school.

In both Florida and Texas, state financial aid to schools is distributed on the basis of the number of children in average daily attendance. Whatever the merits of this system, it creates a temptation to inflate attendance reports. Teachers and principals in these two centers have admitted to the director of this project that padding of attendance figures has been a prevalent practice. According to these reports, the practice has been discontinued in Seguin. No such claim was forthcoming in Palm Beach County, and the evidence of this study indicates that the practice continues.

The data in Table 21, therefore, should be viewed in the light of such facts as the following:

A very considerable number of migrant parents frankly acknowledged keeping their children out of school "sometimes, to help out in the fields."

The Negro attendance officer in the "Glades" reported that on the day prior to the interview he brought in 33 school children from the fields. This he stated is a regular occurrence. He further indicated, and in this he was supported by at least two principals, that principals frequently write excuses for children on request to permit them to skip school for work in the fields. When the attendance officer finds children with these written excuses, he passes them by in his round-up of truants.

One Negro principal in the "Glades" stated that he has pleaded with those parents who felt that they must keep their children out of school to do the family washing or house cleaning, to schedule this work on Friday so as to avoid disrupting every day with absences.

Our field associate noted in several "Glades" Negro schools that whatever day he chose to visit a classroom always seemed to be a day of "unusual" absences. It was not uncommon for him to find 15 to 20 children in rooms where 35 to 40 were enrolled.

It should be added, that the same tendency to absenteeism during bean harvest apparently prevails among non-migratory as well as among migratory children in the Negro schools of the "Glades." Doubtless this is the kind of situation which has given rise in some school districts (although in none of our four study centers) to the "crop vacation." This is the practice of closing the schools entirely during a harvest peak so that the children may be available for work without violation of the federal Fair Labor Standards Act or state attendance laws. Ordinarily such vacations are made up by extending the school term at some other time of year. This compensates in the case of resident children, but works an educational injustice on migrant children who are usually gone when the make-up period occurs.

The "Glades" area white schools report little trouble with attendance, perhaps because school-age children are not permitted to work in the packing sheds. In the family interviews several white parents stated that attendance enforcement was stricter in the "Glades" than "at home" in the Southeastern states. The Virginia and Texas columns in Table 21 reveal seriously low rates of attendance. The Illinois rates are relatively high, although several

Table 22

TEACHERS' AND PRINCIPALS' VIEWS ON MIGRANT ABSENTEEISM (SOURCE: 197 INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS)

	No. of Replies Describing Absenteeism As:			
Study Center	*Serious Problem*	*Slight Problem*	*No Problem*	*No Answer*
Florida—Negro	37	24	5	2
Florida—White	4	10	20	1
Virginia	7	3	12	21
Texas	6	8	5	3
Illinois	9	6	8	6
Totals	63	51	50	33

of the teachers indicated in interviews that migrant attendance is a problem.

A summary of the views of 197 teachers and principals as to the extent to which absenteeism is a problem is given in Table 22.

COMPARATIVE DATA FROM OTHER SOURCES

Several other studies made within the past 20 years provide data on rates of school enrollment among migrants in various sections of the country. Reports of these studies are listed for reference in Appendix B. Numbers in parentheses in this section refer to the titles in that Appendix.

It should be pointed out that all of the studies alluded to below except (10) and (11) were made prior to the effective date of the 1949 amendment to the federal Fair Labor Standards Act which prohibits the employment of children in agriculture below the age of 16 while schools are in session in the district.

Johnson (1) in a study of sugar-beet workers, both migratory and non-migratory, in seven regions of the United States, made in the fall and early winter of 1935, found that two-thirds of 2,014 children between ages 6 and 16 were enrolled in school or were expecting to enroll before the end of the harvest season; more than a fifth delayed enrollment until the harvest was completed; and nearly one-tenth had not enrolled and did not expect to enroll during the ensuing year.

Roskelly and Clarke (2), studying agricultural laborers in Colorado in 1939, found that about 8 per cent of the children of "school age" in 470 families had not attended school at all in 1938-39. They cite also an earlier study by Olaf Larsen of beet workers in Weld County, Colorado, which indicated that 25 per cent of the children studied between ages 6-15 inclusive failed to attend school in 1935-36.

In a 1941 study of children of agricultural laborers in Hidalgo County, Texas, Warburton, Wood and Crane (4) revealed that from a sample of 595 migratory children only 54 per cent of the 6-15-year-olds and 4.6 per cent of the 16-17-year-olds were in school at the time interviews were taken between January 15 and March 28. For the children not enrolled in school, work was given as the reason in 57.9 per cent of the cases.

During the autumn of 1941, Vallon (5) reported that of 128 migratory children, age 8-16, in the Arizona cotton fields, only 20 per cent were enrolled in school.

Johnston (6) found in the fall of 1943 that 1397 Spanish-American children had been counted in the pre-school census in four Michigan counties, but only 18 per cent of these were enrolled.

Thomas (8), studying 239 Negro migrant children, aged 7-15 inclusive, in New York State during the summer of 1949, reported that 97 per cent of the children "planned to attend school" in the 1949-50 school year; 94.9 per cent reported some attendance during the 1948-49 school term.

Studies made in the San Joaquin Valley (10) for the California Governor's Commission in 1950 found that 246 migrant children had 397 absences, or nearly two absences per child, in a period of less than three months. This was regarded as a high rate of absenteeism.

In Colorado in the fall of 1950, Thomas and Taylor (11) found that in their sample of 316 children, age 7-15 inclusive, 70 per cent were attending school. Attendance figures on 221 children revealed that 15 per cent (residents of Colorado and neighboring states) reported no absences; 61 per cent were absent less than 15 days; 19.1 per cent between 15-55 days; 5 per cent over 55 days.

SUMMARY AND COMMENT

A major burden of getting migrant children enrolled in school and keeping them in regular attendance falls upon the Southern, or home base communities where the migrant families spend from five to seven months during the heart of the school year. The two home base centers included in this study (Palm Beach County, Florida and the Seguin School District, Texas) are doing an increasingly effective job of enrolling migrant children in school. Employment of attendance officers of the same ethnic background as the migrants has helped. In the case of Palm Beach County, expansion and improvement of Negro school facilities has helped a great deal.

Regularity of attendance leaves much to be desired in both these centers although it has apparently improved in recent years. Attendance officers, the amended Fair Labor Standards Act, and a growing appreciation by migrant parents of the importance of education have helped. There is still much to be done.

Communities visited by migrants "on the road," like Northampton County, Virginia, and the Hoopeston-Milford-Rossville area in Illinois face a different but also serious problem. The migrants are with them but a few weeks of the school year, usually at the beginning or end, or both. It is easy to minimize the importance of those few weeks in justification of a "do-nothing" approach. Migrant parents do not cooperate heartily in entering the children in these schools because they do not expect to stay long and because they feel a need for the earnings of the children while on the road. The difficulties of securing enrollment and attendance in these communities are illustrated by the very low enrollment and attendance figures for migrants in Northampton County and by the comparatively low enrollment figures in the Illinois situation despite a concerted community effort to meet this problem.

RECOMMENDATIONS[1]

1. We recommend that state departments of public instruction and local school authorities publicly declare (or re-affirm with special reference to migrant children) their responsibility to provide equal school facilities and educational opportunity for every child of school age resident within the boundaries of their respective jurisdictions for any length of time whatsoever. To any states where legal residence requirements or other laws in any way abridge that responsibility, we recommend that active effort be undertaken by educational and other civic leadership to secure their removal.

2. We recommend that state school attendance laws be tightened, wherever necessary, to provide a sound legal basis for full and regular attendance of all children, including migrants, up to the sixteenth birthday, throughout any portion of the school year when they may be resident in the state; and that state child labor laws be amended as may be necessary to bring them into harmony with school attendance laws.

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[1] These, and all subsequent recommendations in the report, are the recommendations of the Migrant Research Project Board.

3. We recommend that state departments of public instruction and local school authorities cooperate with the United States Department of Labor in publicizing and encouraging observance of provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act prohibiting the employment of children under 16 years of age in commercial agriculture while local schools are in session.

4. We recommend that counties and/or local school districts employ attendance supervisors adequate to enforce the compulsory school attendance laws with respect to all children including migrants. We urge that attendance supervisors be adequately trained in an understanding of the special problems of migrant children and how to deal with them; and we recommend the practice of employing attendance supervisors of the same racial and nationality background as the migrants wherever the numbers involved make this feasible.

5. We recommend that local school authorities initiate a vigorous campaign to call the attention of employers of agricultural migrants to the basic economic, social and moral issues involved in educational opportunity for all children, and especially for those of their employees. Such a campaign should be designed to secure the cooperation of growers and employers in getting migrant children into school promptly and keeping them in school regularly while they are resident in the community.

CHAPTER IV

Effects of Migrancy on Schooling

Nancy Lou was born in Allentown, Florida, November 12, 1938, the youngest of nine children. She started to school in Pineland, Georgia at the age of six, and continued for two and one-half years. Her parents moved to Hoboken, Georgia, and Nancy Lou was placed in the second grade at the age of nine and completed the second grade. In November, 1948, her parents migrated to Belle Glade, Florida. Nancy Lou did not enter school until her parents had migrated "up the road" in April, 1949, and returned in November. She entered the third grade in Belle Glade in December, 1949. She remained in school approximately three and one-half months during the 1949-50 school year and went back "up the road" in April, 1950. She returned to Belle Glade in November but did not re-enter school until December, 1951. She went to school about six weeks in 1952 and hasn't been in school since. Mother says Nancy Lou is planning to go back soon. She is presently fourteen years old and classified as a fifth-grader. (From a case study taken in January, 1953)

THIS BRIEF case history, taken by our field staff in a Florida Negro family is typical. In this chapter we shall see Nancy Lou multiplied by several hundred as we inquire into the amount of schooling acquired by these children and the effects of migrancy upon their educational opportunity.

FAMILY MOBILITY

Tables 23 and 24 summarize the situation with respect to family mobility. Table 23 shows the number of different communities in which the families were resident during the year prior to the interview. In the many cases where the present residence is in the same community as that of 12 months ago, that community was counted only once in this tabulation.

A little less than half of the 665 families have lived in only two communities during the year. This usually means that they went from a home base to one other location for agricultural work and returned to the home base. This pattern appears most common with the Florida Negro group.

Another 37.1 per cent of the families have lived in three and four communities during the year, while 16.9 per cent have resided in five or more communities. Those families interviewed on the road (Virginia and Illinois) have, on the average, lived in more places during the year than those interviewed at home base.

Table 23

NUMBER OF COMMUNITIES INHABITED DURING THE YEAR (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

		Total Sample	*Florida Negro*	*Florida White*	*Virginia*	*Texas*	*Illinois*
Total Families:	No.	665	266	70	71	162	96
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of Communities Inhabited							
2	No.	303	165	32	15	74	17
	%	45.5	62.0	45.7	21.1	45.7	17.7
3	No.	126	47	20	7	32	20
	%	18.9	17.7	28.6	9.9	19.8	20.8
4	No.	121	41	9	21	25	25
	%	18.2	15.4	12.9	29.6	15.4	26.1
5	No.	55	10	5	11	14	15
	%	8.3	3.8	7.1	15.5	8.6	15.6
6	No.	38	3	1	10	11	13
	%	5.7	1.1	1.4	14.1	6.8	13.6
7	No.	12	. .	2	2	3	5
	%	1.8	. .	2.9	2.8	1.9	5.2
8+	No.	7	. .	1	2	3	1
	%	1.1	. .	1.4	2.8	1.8	1.0
Not reported:	No.	3	. .	. .	3	. .	. .
	%	.5	. .	. .	4.2	. .	. .

Table 24 makes it clear that 78.9 per cent of the families lived in no single community as long as 30 weeks. Since the normal school year in all four of the study centers is 35 or 36 weeks, it is obvious that the children in over three-fourths of the families could not have completed an uninterrupted year's work in any single school. The Florida white group reports the largest percentage (38.6 per cent) of the families having a continuous residence of more than 30 weeks in one community. Unfortunately the long continuous residence of many of these families was not in Palm Beach County, nor was it coincident with the normal school year. It represents rather their summer-time residence in some other Southern state

Table 24

LONGEST CONTINUOUS RESIDENCE DURING THE YEAR (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

		Total Sample	*Florida*		*Virginia*	*Texas*	*Illinois*
			Negro	*White*			
Total Families	No.	665	266	70	71	162	96
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Residence in Weeks							
Under 10	No.	7	1	1	4	1	..
	%	1.1	.4	1.4	5.6	.6	..
10 to 19	No.	140	64	17	3	45	11
	%	21.1	24.0	24.3	4.2	27.8	11.5
20 to 29	No.	378	162	25	40	99	52
	%	56.7	60.9	35.7	56.3	61.1	54.1
30 to 39	No.	81	22	17	11	16	15
	%	12.2	8.3	24.3	15.5	9.9	15.6
40 and over	No.	56	16	10	11	1	18
	%	8.4	6.0	14.3	15.5	.6	18.8
Not recorded	No.	3	1	..	2	..	..
	%	.5	.4	..	2.8	..	..

whence they came to Florida for a winter packing-shed season of more limited duration.

EDUCATIONAL HANDICAPS IMPOSED BY MIGRANCY

From these indices of family mobility, let us turn to a report of the number of schools attended by the children of our sample and the number of weeks attended during the 12 months prior to the interview. The number of schools attended by the children is shown in Table 25.

It is a striking and disturbing fact that, despite their moving about and their relatively short periods of continuous residence, over 60 per cent of the children who attended school were enrolled in only one school. In the case of the Negro group sampled in Virginia, this percentage rose to 94.4 per cent. The Texas group was next in order with 72.5 per cent of the children enrolling in only one school. Very few of these children attended more than two schools during the year preceding the interview.

The number of weeks attended by individual children during the past 12 months is reported in Table 26 for all those who reported

Table 25

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS ATTENDED DURING PAST YEAR (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

		Total	*Florida*		*Virginia*	*Texas*	*Illinois*
		Sample	*Negro*	*White*			
Total Children:	No.	1499	608	155	89	418	229
Reported	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Schools Attended							
1	No.	930	392	54	84	303	97
	%	62.0	64.5	34.8	94.4	72.5	42.4
2	No.	503	213	77	4	88	121
	%	33.6	35.0	49.7	4.5	21.0	52.8
3	No.	59	3	20	1	25	10
	%	3.9	.5	12.9	1.1	6.0	4.4
4	No.	7	..	4	..	2	1
	%	.5	..	2.6	..	.5	.4

any attendance above the first grade. First graders were omitted from this tabulation because most of them first entered school within the 12-month period preceding the interview. Their inclusions would have distorted the record.

The interviewers were instructed to count as a week of attendance any calendar week in which the child attended as many as three days. Consequently the figures in Table 26 may be accepted as a rough measure of the portion of the school year, in weeks, during which the child was attending school. It is in no sense a refined index of the exact amount of schooling received by the child. Short-term absenteeism is wholly obscured in this particular measurement.

In all groups except the Florida whites over half the children attending school at all attended less than 30 weeks. For the total sample approximately 60 per cent had less than 30 weeks in school. In the case of the Virginia group, nearly four-fifths reported less than 30 weeks of atendance. Of the total sample, 17.5 per cent attended school less than 20 weeks. By separate centers, those attending less than 20 weeks constituted 35.2 per cent of the Virginia sample; 24.9 per cent for Texas; 15.3 per cent for the Florida whites; 13 per cent for Florida Negroes; and 11.3 per cent for Illinois.

Table 26

NUMBER OF WEEKS' SCHOOLING DURING PAST YEAR [1] (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

		Total Sample	*Florida*		*Virginia*	*Texas*	*Illinois*
			Negro	*White*			
Total Reporting Some Attendance	No.	1195	500	131	71	324	169
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. Weeks							
Less than 10	No.	67	21	6	11	25	4
	%	5.6	4.2	4.6	15.5	7.7	2.4
10 to 19	No.	142	44	14	14	55	15
	%	11.9	8.8	10.7	19.7	17.0	8.9
20 to 29	No.	501	212	23	31	139	96
	%	42.0	42.4	17.5	43.6	43.0	56.8
30 and over	No.	485	223	88	15	105	54
	%	40.5	44.6	67.2	21.2	32.3	31.9

Table 27 divides by age groups the children between ages seven and 18 inclusive for whom "weeks in school during the past twelve months" were reported.

Table 27

NUMBER OF WEEKS OF SCHOOLING DURING PAST YEAR BY AGE GROUPS, 7-18 YEARS (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

	Age 7-10		*Age 11-15*		*Age 16-18*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Total Reporting Some Attendance	411	100.0	643	100.0	123	100.0
No. Weeks						
Less than 10	4	1.0	30	4.7	30	24.4
10 to 19	30	7.3	92	14.3	19	15.4
20 to 29	177	43.1	271	42.2	50	40.7
30 and over	200	48.6	250	38.8	24	19.5

The striking fact revealed by Table 27 is that less than 43 per cent of the children within the compulsory age range, 7-15, received as much as 30 weeks of schooling during the year covered by these interviews, while 14.8 per cent received less than 20 weeks. Through the compulsory age we find a moderate tendency to less schooling with advancing years. After age 15, a sharp break is noticeable. At this age level, one-quarter of the children reported are in attendance less than 10 weeks, and less than one in five of those who attended school at all reported as many as 30 weeks. We have reflected among the 16-18-year-old group a number of permanent drop-outs occurring during the year. The children 6 years old and those 19 years old and above are omitted from this tabulation because their numbers are too small to be statistically significant.

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[1] First graders omitted.

Other correlations throw significant side lights on the extent of schooling attained by these children. Analysis reveals that, as a tendency, the higher the parents' educational attainment, the larger the number of weeks attended by the child. Thus, for example, 16.3 per cent of the children whose fathers never attended school were themselves reported as attending more than 30 weeks; for children whose fathers attained grades 1-4, the corresponding figure was 25.3 per cent; for children whose fathers attained grades 5-8, it was 46 per cent; and for children whose fathers went beyond grade 8, it was 75.2 per cent. The same tendency prevails when mothers' educational attainment is correlated with the children's weeks of school attendance.

The degree of family mobility also appears to have affected the amount of schooling received. Thirty-four and eight-tenths per cent of the children whose families reported only two residences achieved 30 weeks or more of schooling; at the other extreme only 13.9 per cent of children whose families moved six or more times did as well. Among families reporting three residences, 65.4 per cent of the children in school above the first grade attended 20 weeks or more; among those moving six times or more, the corresponding percentage was 36.4 per cent.

There was no significant difference between boys and girls in the number of weeks of school attendance.

COMPARATIVE DATA FROM OTHER STUDIES

The Hidalgo County study in Texas by Warburton, Wood and Crane (4) in 1941 reported that only 14 per cent of the 454 children under 16 years of age, for whom complete records were available, attended school as much as 32 weeks, missing not more than three days of school. Only 39 per cent met the Texas compulsory requirement of 120 days in school. Twenty-one per cent attended 12 weeks or less. These figures are based on actual days of attendance, five days being counted as a week.

Thomas (8) studying Negro migrants in New York state during the summer 1949 found that 70.1 per cent of 231 children had attended only one school during the preceding school year; 23.4 per cent attended two schools; only 1.7 per cent attended three schools; and none more than three. Forty-five per cent of 214 children reporting claimed nine months' attendance; 24.8 per cent claimed 7 to 8.9 months; 19.5 per cent claimed 4 to 6.9 months; of the remaining 10.7 per cent about half attended less than four months and half not at all.

Among Colorado migrants in 1950, Thomas and Taylor (11) found 55.2 per cent of 221 children had attended one school and 28.5 per cent, two schools during the previous year.

SUMMARY AND COMMENT

It is clear from the statistical analysis presented in this chapter that migrancy seriously interferes with educational opportunity. Movements in search of agricultural work interrupt school attendance. Failure to enter school promptly at new locations frequently prolongs the school time lost from days into weeks. Our information does not permit a statistical combination of the whole weeks missed in these transitional periods with the days missed because of absence during periods of enrollment, but from all the evidence available it is obvious that the educational experience of these children is both sharply limited and seriously interrupted.

In the face of this evidence, it seems clear that there is no complete solution to the problems of education for migrant children short of the ultimate elimination of agricultural migrancy. Any and all recommendations contained in this report, helpful as they may be, will be at best, palliatives in an unsatisfactory educational situation. Frequent uprooting and moving from community to community and from school to school with consequent interruptions and readjustments simply do not provide the conditions necessary for a satisfactory educational experience, either in the limited technical sense of subject matter learning or in the broader social sense of preparation for mature living in a democracy.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that all who are truly concerned with these problems—growers, educators, sociologists, economists, political and civic leaders unite their efforts toward the development of our national economy in ways which will stabilize employment and minimize the need for employment of migratory families.

2. We recommend that school authorities establish and maintain regular communication with farm placement offices, grower organizations and such other groups as can aid them in keeping informed concerning the volume and timing of migratory family movements in order that suitable educational adjustments may be made.

3. We recommend that state departments of public instruction take active steps to develop cooperative arrangements with neighboring state departments in the same migratory stream and with the U. S. Office of Education for the more orderly and effective handling of education for migrant children. Especially important in this regard is the working out of more satisfactory methods of transferring records of scholastic achievement for individual children from school to school as the children move.

4. We recommend that local school authorities cultivate the acquaintance of migratory labor contractors and crew leaders, urging them (a) to handle their itineraries and work arrangements as far as possible with the educational needs of children in mind; and (b) to encourage regular school attendance among the children in families with whom they work.

5. We recommend that state departments of public instruction work with local school districts for the establishment of accredited summer schools for migrant children in these communities where numbers of migrant families are resident during any substantial portion of the summer vacation period. Such schools can do much to supplement the limited schooling achieved by these children during the normal school year.

CHAPTER V

School Progress

On the basis of sample studies, it appears that only a small percentage of the school-age children of migrants actually attend school when they are outside of their home state, and those who do are usually between two to five years behind the resident children. It is indeed questionable whether the educational problem posed by the children of migrants can be resolved short of a successful attack on the problem of migratory labor itself. (Ginsberg and Bray: *The Uneducated*, p. 178)

A PRIMARY test of any educational program is the scholastic progress made by the children. In this chapter we are to consider the grade progress and status of migrant children in the 665 families interviewed. Two well-recognized methods of measuring scholastic attainment of groups of children are called "grade progress" and "age-grade status."

GRADE PROGRESS

We will report first on the grade progress of the migrant children in the 665 families. The normal expectancy is that a child will complete one school grade each school year. Thus, for a child proceeding normally through school, the number of years in school and the number of the grade last attended will be the same. The actual situation with respect to the 1709 children, age 6-18 inclusive, for whom this information was reported is revealed in Table 28.

A child is considered advanced if his "grade last attended" is higher than the number of years he has been enrolled in school; normal if these two numbers are the same; retarded if the number of years enrolled is greater than the "grade last attended."

Apart from the relatively small group of "advanced" children among the migrants, we find these children almost equally divided between "normal" and "retarded" in grade progress. Twenty-five per cent of the so-called "normal" children, however, are in their first school year when it is impossible to be retarded by this definition. In the second year of school over one-third of the children

Table 28

GRADE PROGRESS OF MIGRANT CHILDREN, AGE 6-18 (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

Years in School	*Total No. of Children*	*Advanced*		*Normal*		*Retarded*		*Number of Years Retarded*				
		%	*No.*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5 or over*
1	210	5	2.4	205	97.6							
2	259	15	5.8	152	58.7	92	35.5	92				
3	188	4	2.1	101	53.7	83	44.2	70	13			
4	214	9	4.2	92	43.0	113	52.8	76	32	5		
5	172	5	2.9	75	43.6	92	53.5	44	36	11	1	
6	179	9	5.0	51	28.5	119	66.5	50	33	29	6	1
7	165	4	2.4	54	32.7	107	64.9	38	31	29	7	2
8	147	1	.7	49	33.3	97	66.0	28	30	24	11	4
9	88	3	3.4	19	21.6	66	75.0	17	16	14	8	11
10	51	..	..	13	25.5	38	74.5	14	8	9	3	4
11	28	2	7.1	7	25.0	19	67.9	7	6	2	..	4
12	8	..	..	2	25.0	6	75.0	2	1	1	..	2
Total	1709	57	3.3	820	48.0	832	48.7	438	206	124	36	28

are held back in the first grade. Thereafter, the percentage of retarded children mounts steadily in each bracket up to 75 per cent retardation among those nine years in school. As the right-hand columns show, after the fourth year of school more than half the children in each group are retarded two to five or more years.

Grade progress was studied separately for those children (1189 in number) who were enrolled in school at the time of the field study, and for the 520 children reported not in school. The in-school group showed less over-all retardation than the out-of-school group. Thus:

	In-School %	*Out-of-School* %
Advanced	3.9	2.1
Normal	51.1	40.7
Retarded	45.0	57.2

Construction of grade progress tables for each of the study centers revealed some interesting differences in percentage of retardation Table 29 summarizes these data.

The Florida (both Negro and white) and the Virginia samples show a very similar pattern. The percentage of children retarded is somewhat below that for the total sample which is obviously raised by the very high percentage of retardation in the large Texas

Table 29

GRADE PROGRESS OF MIGRANT CHILDREN, BY STUDY CENTERS (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

Study Center	*Total Children*	*Advanced*		*Normal*		*Retarded*	
		No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Florida, Negro	653	34	5.2	344	52.7	275	42.1
Florida, White	168	3	1.7	92	54.8	73	43.5
Virginia	121	6	5.0	62	51.2	53	43.8
Texas	500	10	2.0	150	30.0	340	68.0
Illinois	267	4	1.5	172	64.4	91	34.1

group. There is nothing in our data to explain with assurance the surprisingly low relative rate of retardation reported among the Illinois group.

A grade progress chart was made also for those above the age of 18 who were reported as "children" in the sense that they were still living and moving with the family as members of the household and as offspring of the family head. Data was available on 192 of these, and we were interested to see if they showed more or less retardation at the time of their last school attendance than the present generation of school-age children. Although the percentage of retardation fluctuated from line to line in a somewhat different pattern, the proportion of the total group above age 18 who were retarded was 49.5 per cent or less than 1 percentage point higher than the total 6-18-year-old group.

AGE-GRADE STATUS

The age-grade status standard for measuring school achievement assumes that children enter school at the age of six or seven and that they complete one grade each year. Thus, the "normal" child in age-grade status will be found in grade one at ages six or seven, grade two at ages seven or eight and so on. Children found in the respective grades at ages above this norm are regarded as "over-age" for their grade status; children below the age norm so established are listed as "under-age" for their grade status.

Table 30 reports the age-grade status of the children, age 6-18 inclusive, for whom this information was given. Before turning to an examination of these data, one point should be made. Of the total group of 2093 children represented in this study, 260 or 12.3 per cent were reported as first entering school after having passed their eighth birthday. One hundred sixty of these entered at age eight but the other 100 were delayed in entering school until the age of nine or 10 or even later in a few cases. All these children were already "over-age" by this standard when they entered school. This tendency to late entry is especially characteristic of the Spanish-American group. Over 20 per cent of those reported in both Texas and Illinois entered school after the eighth birthday.

This table, therefore, does not measure retardation in the sense of progressive falling behind in academic attainment as does Table 28. What it does bring into sharp focus is the degree to which migrant children are over-age compared to the majority of the resident children in their grades and classes. This is an aspect of retardation which is of great psychological importance to the education experience of the child. It also is generally regarded as having a bearing on the problem of school drop-out on the part of the teen-age youth.

Table 30

AGE-GRADE STATUS OF MIGRANT CHILDREN, AGE 6-18 (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

School Age at Last Attendance	*Total No. of Children*	*Under-Age*		*Normal*		*Over-Age*		*No. of Years Over-Age*				
		No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5 or over*
5	1	1	100.0									
6	75	5	6.7	70	93.3							
7	151	4	2.7	147	97.3							
8	169	..	..	88	52.1	81	47.9	81				
9	151	1	.7	51	33.7	99	65.6	76	23			
10	163	..	..	53	32.5	110	67.5	64	38	8		
11	161	..	..	40	24.9	121	75.1	44	48	27	2	
12	188	..	..	28	14.9	160	85.1	48	43	47	14	8
13	165	1	.6	26	15.8	138	83.6	29	42	36	25	6
14	181	1	.6	31	17.1	149	82.3	28	37	34	28	22
15	131	..	..	12	9.2	119	90.8	16	30	32	20	21
16	84	1	1.2	9	10.8	74	88.0	10	20	18	13	13
17	43	..	..	4	9.3	39	90.7	8	9	8	8	6
18	13	..	..	2	15.4	11	84.6	2	3	3	..	3
Total	1676	14	.8	561	33.6	1101	65.6	406	293	213	110	79

By definition, children whose age at last attendance was six or seven years, cannot be "over-age" on this scale. As soon as we reach the eight-year-old group, nearly half the children are one year over-age. Thereafter from two-thirds to more than nine-tenths of all these children are over-age for their grade. For all who are over-age in the 11- and 12-year groups, the median number of years over-age is two. In the groups, age 13-16, the median is three years over-age. The decline in the proportion of those excessively over-age among the 17- and 18-year-olds doubtless reflects the tendency of children in this situation to drop out of school after passing the compulsory age limit.

For the entire group of 1676 children for whom the information was given, approximately one-third are reported as having normal age-grade status; just under two-thirds are over-age. But 217 or 38.6 per cent of the 561 claiming normal age-grade status are six- and seven-year olds in the first grade for the first or second year.

When this group of 1676 children is divided between those presently enrolled in school and those out of school, a significant difference appears:

	In School Group (1194 children)	*Out-of-School Group (482 children)*
	%	%
Under-Age	.8	1.4
Normal	37.8	22.5
Over Age	61.4	76.1

These figures suggest that children who find themselves seriously over-age for their grade tend to drop out of school in larger proportions than do their less severely retarded classmates.

When age-grade status charts are computed for each of the study centers, it appears that the percentage of over-age children reported in Table 30 is a compromise between a significantly lower percentage among the Negro and white children of the east coast and a significantly higher percentage of over-age, or retarded, Spanish-American children in Texas and Illinois. This is revealed by the data summarized in Table 31.

GRADE PLACEMENT

There appears to be a growing tendency among teachers to promote slow-learning children frequently enough to keep them more or less abreast of their chronological age-mates despite their comparative failure to master the work at the lower grade levels. Some

Table 31

AGE-GRADE STATUS OF MIGRANT CHILDREN, BY STUDY CENTERS (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

Study Center	*Total Children*	*Under-Age*		*Normal*		*Over-Age*	
		No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Florida, Negro	640	6	.9	274	42.8	360	56.3
Florida, White	162	4	2.5	92	56.8	66	40.7
Virginia	121	3	2.5	52	43.0	66	54.5
Texas	494	..	..	74	15.0	420	85.0
Illinois	259	1	.4	69	26.6	189	73.0

measure of this tendency is essential if we are to grasp the full impact of scholastic retardation among migrant children.

On the Migrant Pupil Record Cards, teachers were asked to indicate in what grade each child would have been placed in the 1952-53 school year if placement were made strictly according to scholastic achievement. Table 31 summarizes these data. It must be borne in mind that these figures are based upon a subjective judgment by the teachers. Nevertheless, it represents a well-informed judgment of the same type as that which determines whether a child shall be passed on from grade to grade or retained for another year.

Table 32

JUDGMENT OF TEACHERS AS TO SCHOLASTIC ATTAINMENT OF MIGRANT CHILDREN (SOURCE: 1719 MIGRANT PUPIL RECORD CARDS)

Grade	*Total No. of Children*	*Placement of Children Relative to Scholastic Attainment*						
		Placed Too Low %	*Properly Graded %*	*Placed 1 Grade High %*	*Placed 2 Grades High %*	*Placed 3 Grades High %*	*Placed 4 Grades High (or more) %*	*Not Recorded %*
1	416	2.9	88.0	3.8[1]	..	..	..	5.3
2	291	3.8	62.5	29.5	.7[1]	..	..	3.8
3	300	4.0	46.7	31.3	8.7	..	..	9.3
4	171	1.2	62.0	25.7	4.7	4.1	..	2.3
5	180	2.8	45.6	27.8	12.3	4.4	1.1	6.1
6	115	2.6	39.1	18.3	22.6	6.5	1.7	5.2
7	89	1.1	51.7	6.7	13.5	4.5	2.2	20.3
8	61	..	64.0	14.8	13.1	1.6	1.6	4.9
9	44	..	59.1	31.8	2.3	2.3	..	4.5

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[1] The teacher's judgment was that these children should have been placed in kindergarten rather than first or second grade.

Table 32 reveals a rising percentage of children who have been placed above their proper scholastic grade level as we move through the first six grades. A fair summary of this evidence would be this: that in grades 2-6 inclusive, between one-third and one-half of the migrant children were, in the teacher's judgment, placed from one to three grades higher than their scholastic attainments warrant.

Above the sixth grade the proportions of those placed above their scholastic level tends to decline. We have no means of determining whether this reflects greater charity of judgment on the part of the teachers in the upper grades or a mounting tendency on the part of the slowest-learning migrant children to drop out of school even when they are placed in the higher grades.

Differences both in practice and in policy were found in regard to methods of grade placement for migrant children. The principals were asked to state the prevailing practice in their schools. The teachers were asked how they thought grade placement of migrants should be handled.

The replies of the principals indicated that scholastic attainment is the basis of assignment to grade in 15 schools; chronological age in three; and in five schools both of these plus the individual characteristics of the child are taken into account.

The judgment of the teachers on this problem was sharply divided between the two courses. Sixty-five favored assignment by scholastic attainment; 76 voted for placement by chronological age.

The arguments for scholastic placement tended to put emphasis on the formal aspects of learning whereas those arguing for keeping the child with or near his age level emphasized social and psychological adjustment. This would appear to be an area in which special research could make a helpful contribution.

COMPARATIVE DATA FROM OTHER STUDIES

Johnson (1), studying sugar beet workers in 1935, found 51.4 per cent of 1382 children, age 8-15, to be retarded by the age-grade status standard. She found retardation to be cumulative with each added year of age, the range being from 32 per cent retardation among 8-year-olds to 72 per cent for the 15-year-old group. She also reported a tendency to promote migrants despite their failure satisfactorily to complete the work of a given grade.

Roskelly and Clark (2) found high rates of retardation among Spanish-American migrant children in Colorado. Their sample among Arkansas Valley sugar beet workers showed age-grade retardation rates ranging from 63 per cent for seven-year-olds to 100 per cent of the 13-year age group. In the Platte Valley, the range was from 54 per cent at the seven-year-old age level to 92 per cent at the 13-year level. Retardation ranged from one to seven years.

In Hidalgo County, Texas, Warburton, Wood and Crane (4) in 1941 found 670 children or 89.7 per cent of their sample over-age for their grade. These were children from six to 17 years of age inclusive. Above the tenth birthday, retardation appeared in from 95 per cent to 99 per cent of the cases, with the median extent of retardation ranging between three and four years.

Johnston's (6) study of 157 Spanish-American migrants in Michigan in 1943 revealed that "56 per cent of the children of school age are retarded and that one child out of three is retarded three years or more. The percentage of retardation rises rapidly after the age of nine and comprises 87 per cent of the 15-year-old group."

A study made in the San Joaquin Valley for the California Governor's Commission (10) reported that 246 children of school age averaged slightly more than one year over-age for grade. Achievement tests in reading and arithmetic, available for 35 per cent of the sample, showed that three-fourths of these children were placed in grades above those which their achievement level would normally warrant.

The Thomas and Taylor (11) study in Colorado in 1950 arbitrarily raised the norm by one year in their age-grade status chart. Thus seven and eight years were considered normal for the first grade; eight and nine for the second and so on. Even so, they found 82 per cent of their sample over-age. As usual, rates of retardation advanced with the age of the group until all but four out of the 229 children, 11 years of age and over, were retarded three or more years.

SUMMARY AND COMMENT

With the presentation of the data on school progress, or more strictly speaking, retardation of school progress we have our most accurate measure of the limitation upon the educational experience of migrant children. Here the impact of late enrollment, fragmentary attendance, and frequent transition from school to school is translated into terms of scholastic retardation. The picture is a serious one indeed. Despite some evidence of meager improvement over the recent past, we still find half the migrant children failing to maintain the normal school pace of one grade per year; almost two-thirds of them over-age for the grade in which they are presently placed; and over 30 per cent, in the judgment of their teachers, placed in grades above what their scholastic attainment warrants.

The situation appears to be somewhat worse among the Spanish-American migratory group than among the Negro or white Anglo migrants of the east coast. In the study centers retardation among migrant children grows progressively worse at the higher age levels.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that school boards, in cooperation with other appropriate groups, establish kindergartens and nursery schools for migratory children, thus extending downward the all-too-limited educational life of these children, as well as releasing school-age children from the obligation of caring for younger brothers and sisters while parents work in the fields.

2. We recommend that efforts be made by attendance supervisors, P.T.A.'s, and other concerned groups to encourage the enrollment of migrant children in school at the earliest age allowed under state laws and local customs.

3. We recommend that local schools, with the advice and cooperation of state departments and colleges of education, experiment with the relative merits of grade placement by scholastic attainment, chronological age, or some combination of the two as means of providing the best possible educational experience for migrant children.

CHAPTER VI

Migrant Impact on School Facilities

> The problems of providing workable educational facilities for the children of "families on the move" are most complex and have persistently and stubbornly resisted solution. . . . Educational neglect, in this instance, symbolizes and accentuates the attitude of indifference which the migrant farm child meets in most areas of his experience. The end product is a citizen who has no social or geographical roots, has a feeling of being left out, is ill-prepared for any form of constructive citizenship, and lacks the basic educational tools for satisfactory living. (U. S. Office of Education: *Report of Regional Conferences on Education of Migrant Children*, p. 1)

IN THE three preceding chapters, our focus of attention has been principally upon the migrant child of school age. In this chapter we turn to a consideration of the school which finds itself confronted by an influx of migrant families into the community and of migrant children into the school district. Here we report our findings as to the effect of the migrant influx on the size of the school population, both actual and potential, and the extent of over-crowding of school facilities and over-loading of teachers which results. Also discussed are integration of migrant with resident children versus the creation of separate school facilities for migrants.

IMPACT ON SCHOOL POPULATION

At least three factors are of importance to the school administrator; the size of the migrant influx, its time of arrival, and its duration. To portray statistically the impact of migrant enrollment on student population, we turn to figures furnished by school principals for the full school year preceding our field study, the 1951-52 school year. Table 33 summarizes these data.

The contrast between our various study centers is striking. In Florida Negro schools, the student population more than doubles from September to January or February under the impact of migrant enrollment. In the three dominantly Spanish-American schools

Table 33

IMPACT OF MIGRANTS ON SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, 1951-52 (SOURCE: 28 INTERVIEWS WITH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS)

Center	*No. of Schools*[1]	*Resident enrollment first month of school*	*Migrant enrollment at peak*	*Total enrollment including migrants*	*Migrant enrollment as a % of first month enrollment*
Florida, Negro	9	1149	1225	2374	106.0
Florida, White	3	1505	241	1746	16.0
Virginia	6	1340	32	1423	2.4
Texas	3	504	396	900	78.5
Illinois	4	1209	154	1333	12.7

of Seguin Independent District the effect is almost as drastic (78.5 per cent increase). The Florida white schools experience approximately a 16 per cent increase which persists from five to six and a half months. In the Illinois schools migrant enrollment during the last month of school is a little over 12 per cent of the normal enrollment. We have not been able to discover that any appreciable number of migrant children enroll in Northampton County schools in the spring. The fall increase is a mere 2.4 per cent of the total.

Table 34, showing the number and percentage of migrant children enrolling by months, is introduced to illustrate the way in which the entrance of migrant children is staggered, especially in Florida and Texas, over many weeks and months.

This tabulation shows that 87.5 per cent of the migrants enrolled in the Florida Negro schools before the end of November, 62.2 per cent of them entering during October and November. Although the large majority of these late-entering children enrolled on successive Monday mornings during September, October and November, it is a fact that there were only four school days between September 8 and December 1 on which no migrant children entered Negro schools in the "Glades" area. After December 1, new enrollees appeared on 29 different school days.

The Florida white children enrolled more gradually from September until March. In Texas, the other home base situation, the enrollment was even more tardy, coming to a peak in early January. The Virginia enrollment was largely in September and October. In Illinois it was almost entirely in late April and early May. The withdrawal pattern is almost equally complex. Over 80 per cent of the Florida Negro migrants remained on the roll until the close of school. The Florida white group began to withdraw in numbers in April. This exodus increased during May and the early days of June, leaving only 37.5 per cent of the migrants on the roll at closing of schools. In Texas we found two periods of withdrawal. In September and October children were withdrawn as their families left Seguin for the western Texas cotton harvest. Many of these children re-enrolled in December or January. The second exodus began in April. About half the migrants remained on the roll to the close of school.

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[1] The following schools failed to report fully enough to be included in this table: In Virginia: Treherneville (3 migrants in 1952-53); Hare Valley (13 migrants in 1952-54). In Illinois: Rossville (1 migrant in 1952-53).

Table 34

ENTRIES OF MIGRANT CHILDREN BY MONTHS—1952-53 (SOURCE: 1719 MIGRANT PUPIL RECORD CARDS)

	Florida				*Virginia*		*Texas*		*Illinois*	
	Negro		*White*							
Date	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Totals	1079	100.0	120[2]	100.0	47	100.0	394	100.0	133	100.0
Opening of School	189	17.6	24	20.0	9	19.2	23	5.8	..	..
Remainder of Sept.	83	7.7	4	3.3	24	51.1	47	11.9	2	1.5
October	304	28.2	14	11.7	10	21.2	52	13.2	..	..
November	367	34.0	28	23.3	3	6.4	73	18.5	..	..
December	41	3.8	14	11.7	..	..	68	17.3	..	..
January	47	4.4	8	6.7	..	..	91	23.1	..	..
February	10	.9	13	10.8	..	..	9	2.3	..	..
March	9	.8	15	12.5	..	..	5	1.3	..	..
April	5	.5	..	..	1	2.1	9	2.3	76	57.1
May	3	.3	..	..	..	..	16	4.1	55	41.4
Not Recorded	21	1.8	..	..	..	..	1	.2	..	..

In Virginia the total numbers were small. Over half withdrew in October. All but five children were gone by Christmas. With the late arrivals in Illinois, most of the migrants remained on the roll, as expected, until the close of school.

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[2] Includes some double entries by same child.

IMPACT ON SCHOOL FACILITIES

What is the effect of this migrant influx upon classroom capacity and teacher loads? The most significant measure of the relation of a student population to school capacity is the number of pupils assigned to each teacher. This is particularly true at the elementary level where the same teacher ordinarily has her room of children for virtually all subjects and for the whole day.

Somewhere between 25 and 30 children is generally regarded as a normal and reasonable teacher load. Under present-day pressures of school population, these numbers are frequently exceeded in many American communities. Table 35 reflects the teacher-load situation as influenced by the migrant influx in the schools of our study during the 1952-53 school year.

Table 35

TEACHER LOADS, 1952-53 (SOURCE: 28 INTERVIEWS WITH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS)

	Average Number of Pupils per Teacher	
	1st Month	*Peak of Migrant Enrollment*
Florida Negro—Elementary	19.8	40.4
Florida Negro—High School	22.8	35.4
Florida White—Elementary	28.5	32.4
Virginia—Elementary	48.0	50.0
Virginia—High School	31.0	35.5
Texas—Elementary	26.5	39.1
Illinois [3]	. . .	. . .

In the Florida Negro schools, fortunately the classroom capacity and roster of teachers was large enough so that teacher loads, especially in the elementary grades, were well below capacity as schools opened in the fall. By the time the migrant enrollment reached its height, however, the teachers and classrooms were loaded far beyond their capacity. No additional teachers are reported to have been hired especially to handle the excess load created by migrant enrollment. Average teacher loads by individual schools ranged from 51 to 33 with the larger schools generally reporting loads in the forties.

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[3] The Illinois situation can hardly be summarized satisfactorily on this Table. The 1952-53 situation in Illinois at the peak of migrant enrollment was as follows: Hoopeston: Honeywell—15 migrants scattered over grades 1-6; Lincoln—61 migrants, 39 in a separate room for grades 1 and 2 with special teacher; 22 scattered over grades 2-8; Maple—3 migrants; Milford: 54 migrants—51 in separate school for grades 1-3, with two special teachers, 3 scattered over grades 4-8; Rossville; 1 migrant.

The Florida white schools were pushing capacity with resident pupils. When the migrants arrived they produced some over-loading, but not so much as in the Negro group. The problem was, to some extent, concentrated in the Osceola Camp School where the peak enrollment constituted an average per teacher of 41 pupils, 19 resident and 22 migrants.

The Negro schools in Northampton County, Virginia, were seriously overcrowded without regard to migrants. The small number of migrants who enrolled only made a bad situation slightly worse. As reported elsewhere an extensive building and consolidation program has improved this situation over the summer of 1953. It is, however, far from solved.

In Seguin, Texas, the schools opened with normal teaching loads. Because of the practice of assigning all late enrollees (migrants) to the Juan Seguin School, the situation at the height of the migrant influx was one of serious overcrowding. The Staples public school and Our Lady of Guadalupe Roman Catholic school share this problem of overload on teachers at the peak of migrant enrollment.

The Illinois situation, as pointed out in the table, was handled differently. Although 134 migrant children were enrolled, in no case were enough added to regular classrooms to make an appreciable difference in the teacher loads. Lincoln School, Hoopeston, which received 61 migrants from the Illinois Canning Company Camp placed 39 of them in a separate room in the basement and employed an additional teacher for them. At Milford, a separate school was created in the Milford Canning Company Camp for the 51 children enrolled in grades 1-3. Two additional teachers were employed for this school. Only three migrants entered the regular Milford School. Only one migrant child entered the Rossville School.

Let us turn now from the historical analysis of teacher loads in 1952-53 to the more hypothetical question: What would happen to teacher loads and school facilities if all migrant children were enrolled in school? The figures summarized in Table 36 are estimates based on the projection of our sampling of migrant families to the total migrant population of the respective communities.

Table 36

ESTIMATED TEACHER LOADS ASSUMING ENROLLMENT OF ALL MIGRANTS IN SCHOOLS (SOURCE: ESTIMATES OF AUTHOR COMBINED WITH INFORMATION FROM 28 INTERVIEWS WITH PRINCIPALS)

	1952-53 Migrant Enrollment	*Estimated No. Migrants Not Enrolled (Age 6-15)*	*Estimated Total No. Migrant Children (Age 6-15)*	*Teacher Loads 1st Month 1952-1953*	*Teacher Loads at Peak of 1952-53 Migrant Enrollment*	*Estimated Teacher Loads if all Migrants Enrolled (Age 6-15)*
Florida--Negro	1101	165	1266	19.4	37.1	39.8
Florida—White	148	25	173	28.5	32.4	33.8
Virginia	57	450	507	48.0	50.0	65.5
Texas	396	80	476	26.5	39.1	42.6
Illinois	134	100	234	29.5	....	34.0

The columns in this table which are designated "estimates" must be accepted only as such. They are, however, based on a careful analysis of all the available data.

The teachers and classrooms in the schools of the study centers were virtually all overloaded last year except for Illinois. In Florida and Texas the overloading was definitely due to migrant enrollment. In Virginia, the overloads came mostly from resident children. The numbers of migrant children, age 6-15, who were not enrolled in school were not large relative to the total school populations, save in Virginia. It would appear that, again excepting Virginia, any successful campaign to enroll all migrant children (age 6-15) in school would not add seriously to the present burden upon classrooms and teachers.

Assuming present migratory patterns, to provide an elementary teacher for each 30 pupils at the peak of a full migrant enrollment would require the employment of roughly the following numbers of additional teachers; Florida Negro schools, 20; Florida white schools, 5; Virginia, 33; Texas, 5; Illinois, 6. Such expansion of teaching staff does not seem to be an impossible goal for Texas, Illinois or the white schools of Florida. The more severe pressure of the migrant impact on school costs becomes apparent in the Florida Negro schools because of the large numbers involved. But it is in a situation like that in Northampton County, Virginia, that the problem of financing adequate facilities and staff becomes truly acute. Completely to meet the needs of all the migrant children who reside temporarily in Northampton County would require 12 to 15 new classrooms and as many teachers for a group of children who will be in the schools, at most, no more than eight to 10 weeks of each school year.

BUS TRANSPORTATION AND SCHOOL LUNCH

In the four centers involved in this study, no cases were encountered where migrant children were deprived of educational opportunity for lack of transportation. Buses covering the territory will carry migrant children on the same basis as resident children. In Seguin, Texas, local regulation does not permit buses to haul children living less than two miles from their school. There was complaint from a few migrant families living between one and a half and two miles from Juan Seguin School that it was too far for their small children to walk in bad weather.

There was some evidence of overcrowding on buses because of migrant children; and doubtless if all the Northampton County, Virginia, children were to enroll in schools a serious transportation problem would be created.

School lunches were available in only one of the nine Negro schools in the "Glades." Two of the three Florida white schools have lunches, but the school with the largest percentage of migrant children does not. In Virginia, only two of the schools studied have lunch programs; in Texas, one; and in Illinois, two. In short, eight of 25 schools reporting have lunch programs.

SEPARATE VS. INTEGRATED EDUCATION FOR MIGRANT CHILDREN

A particularly challenging problem in the area of educational adaptation to migrant children centers around the issue of separate schools or separate rooms for migrants. This issue should be studied and settled on its educational merits wholly divorced from the issue of segregated schools established on grounds of race or nationality background. Unfortunately it is very difficult to maintain that distinction in the mind of the public.

First, let us look at the practice current in the four study centers:

In the Florida Negro schools there is no separation on grounds of migrancy. So far as we could discover, the practice in all schools was to introduce the late-entering migrant children into classes with the resident children. When a class became so large as to require division, the new division included both residents and migrants.

In the case of the Florida white group a certain element of separation is introduced by the existence of the Osceola Camp School. This school is located on the grounds of a farm-labor camp and serves all residents of the camp and them only for grades 1-6. There are both permanent and transient families residing in the camp and patronizing the school. By the very nature of the case, however, this school gets most of the migrant children of the Belle Glade community. Its enrollment at mid-term is about 35 per cent migrant.

So few migrants have enrolled in the Virginia schools that this has not been an issue. No separation of migrants has been practiced.

The issue becomes more acute when we enter the Spanish-American migratory stream and encounter the language problem. In Seguin, Texas, there is no official segregation of Spanish-American pupils. As has been pointed out, prevailing practices result in most of them—and virtually all of the migrant children—landing in the Juan Seguin School. There the migrant children are not generally separated from residents. At the first grade level, this school divides the children into three groups which they call pre-primer, primer and first grade. These groups are related to the child's readiness for first grade work. The migrant children gravitate preponderantly to the primer and pre-primer groups because they are retarded, especially in the use of the English language.

The situation in Illinois is most interesting in this regard. Here are illustrated essentially the three possible approaches. At Honeywell School, Hoopeston, the migrant children are fully integrated in regular classes with resident children (note, however, that the total number of migrants is small).

At Lincoln School, the migrants eligible for grades 1-3 are placed in a separate room in the same building and assigned a special teacher. Playground activities are integrated. The small number of migrants who enroll above grade 3 are placed in regular classes.

In Milford, migrant children assigned to grades 1-3 are handled in a wholly separate school located on the grounds of the Canning Company at a considerable distance from the local elementary school. Migrants above grade 3 theoretically enter regular classes at the local school, but almost none enroll.

Each of the school administrators in this area defends his methods of handling the situation with reasons. Says the Honeywell principal, these children will learn best if exposed to contact with resident children in a normal, wholesome relationship. The Lincoln principal agrees in respect to the upper grades but feels that special and separate instruction is essential to overcome the language handicap of the smaller children. She contends that the combination of separate instruction with integrated playground experiences, fire drills, etc., produce the best results. The Milford principal emphasizes the fact that these children arrive so late in the year that, with their language handicap, they would learn almost nothing in the regular classes. By themselves they can be given instruction adapted to their immediate needs. He also points out that by working in cooperation with the Canning Company, he was able in 1951-52 to extend the migrant school a full week beyond the closing date of the regular school to the advantage of the migrant children.

The teachers were asked how they thought this matter should be settled. Their votes were as follows:

	For Separated Instruction	*For Integrated Instruction*
Florida, Negro	8	49
Florida, White	5	23
Virginia	0	33
Texas	15	5
Illinois	7	10
Totals	35	120

The strong majority is for integration of migrants with resident children. Note, however, that the votes from the areas dealing with Latin-American migrants (Texas and Illinois) runs the other way by 22 to 15. Evidently the language problem is a serious one in this connection.

Prominent among reasons given for favoring separate rooms or classes for migrants were: more specialized instruction; children are happier and less embarrassed; resident children are not slowed down by their presence.

Arguments frequently cited on the other side were to the effect that integration is more democratic and more American; avoids class differentiation and discrimination; migrants and residents learn from and help each other; avoids feeling of inferiority and enhances feeling of belonging.

COMPARATIVE DATA FROM OTHER STUDIES

Johnson (1) reported in 1935 a few cases among her sample of sugar-beet workers where the families lived on such remote farms as to have no school available to them.

Warburton, Wood and Crane (4) report of Hidalgo County, Texas, in 1941 that "the space in many of the school rooms (Latin-American) was strained far beyond capacity. Some elementary teachers had as many as 50 or 60 children in rooms intended for half as many. Even basic equipment such as textbooks was lacking for some children. . . ."

The President's Commission on Migratory Labor (9) makes the general observation that, "the local school district, hard pressed to provide for its own permanent, resident children, finds it hard to make adequate provision for migratory children." This report also summarizes, in a paragraph worth quoting, the problem of school finance and the resultant difficulties which face the district containing migrant children.

> State school funds supplied to local school districts are most frequently allocated on the basis of either a school census or average daily attendance. Migrant children are more likely to be counted in the school census than they are to attend schools. If allocations of school funds are based on the census, migratory children may be counted even though they do not attend school. By thus increasing the census basis for the allocation of funds, but without attending school, migrant children help to increase the educational benefits available to those who do attend. If, on the other hand, the allocation of funds is based on average daily attendance, in those districts in which attendance and enrollment fluctuate widely because of migrants, school funds are usually too low to provide for peak enrollment needs. So, likewise, are they, if the school census is taken at a time when the migrant children are not on hand to be counted.[4]

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[4] "Migratory Labor in American Agriculture." Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, March 1951. p. 168.

Thomas and Taylor (11) interviewing superintendents of schools in Colorado in 1950 found several who were troubled by overcrowded facilities and overloaded teachers due to migrant enrollment, and others who cited the prospect of these conditions as reason for failing to push vigorously for migrant attendance. One summarized the problem: "What happens in a school suddenly confronted by twice as many students as are normally enrolled, you can well imagine!"

Motheral, Metzler and Ducoff (12) found in the fall of 1951 that "both teaching staffs and facilities were heavily burdened" in the cotton harvest area of the Texas High Plains.

SUMMARY AND COMMENT

Most inquiries into the problem of education for migrant children have contented themselves with analyzing the situation as it confronts the migrant child and his family. Certainly the child is a proper focus of attention in dealing with any educational problem. It is our view, however, reinforced by the findings of this study, that this problem cannot be satisfactorily handled until it is also viewed and understood from the viewpoint of the school systems, the school boards, administrators and teachers who are involved.

The analysis in this chapter has given us some insight, for instance, into the disruptions of classroom plans and routines which are caused by the frequent arrival of newly-enrolling, migrant children. We have reviewed also the overload upon classrooms, facilities and the time, attention and energy of teachers as these additional children are thrust upon them. By the laws of sound education, migrant children, being generally retarded, should be grouped in smaller classes than resident children to allow the teacher more time for individual work with each of them. Yet by the logic of arithmetic the arrival of migrants is the automatic signal for larger classes and greater demands on the teachers.

Such disruption and crowding inevitably influences the experience of the resident children as well. This fact may be reflected in resentment by resident parents and resistance on their part to efforts at enrolling migrants in the schools.

In the face of this situation several suggestions have been made which deserve consideration. One is that migrant children be taught in separate schools or in separate classes. Obviously this answer is feasible only where considerable numbers of migrant children are found in the same community. Even then, as the earlier discussion indicates, there are many who question its desirability on weighty grounds. Sincere educators differ on this issue. Indeed, the "right" answer may differ in different local situations.

Our judgment is that it is preferable for migrants to be schooled in the same building with resident children. There they can share at least in common activities such as playground, cafeteria, assemblies and extra-curricular activities. Where the migrants are enrolled for a brief period of weeks, especially late in the academic year, and/or where they are under a serious language handicap, we believe a strong case can be made for separate rooms with instructors and an instructional program especially adapted to their needs.

Another line of solution proposes the addition of special teachers during the migrant influx, or the employment of travelling teachers who follow the migrant stream, possibly with portable classrooms in which to teach.

Whatever the merit of these suggestions, and we believe they should be explored experimentally, they all run smack against the cold facts of the school budget and taxpayer resistance to additional assessment for school support. Generally speaking, school budget in the United States today are woefully inadequate. According to a 1953 report by the late Dr. Lee M. Thurston, then U. S. Commissioner of Education, the fall of 1953 would see the United States short about 345,000 public elementary and secondary classrooms. Three classrooms out of every five would be overcrowded. Increased enrollments, building deterioration and obsolescence will create the need for an additional 425,000 classrooms and related facilities by 1960. About 36,000 are in some stage of construction. Some 45,700 qualified graduates for elementary teaching came out of the colleges in 1953 to meet a national need for 118,000 public elementary school teachers. To put it bluntly, we cannot expect that taxpayers who are presently shirking the responsibility of financing adequate education for their own children will be likely to support a program for improving education for migrant children.

In justice it should be pointed out, on the other hand, that the weight of this burden, both in terms of numbers and duration, falls most heavily upon the Southern states which are already spending larger proportions of limited resources for education than most other states.

Proposals involving traveling teachers inevitably raise the question of interstate relations in the area of migrant education. We believe much could be done to improve matters at this point. We commend the initial efforts recently made by the U. S. Office of Education to stimulate interstate understanding and cooperation.

We found near-unanimous agreement among school administrators in the study centers that the allocation of state financial aid on the basis of average daily attendance works a hardship on schools receiving numbers of migrant children. They point out that their late entry and/or early withdrawal plus their excessive absenteeism seriously reduces their effective contribution to A.D.A. totals. Yet extra facilities and teachers are needed for them. The President's Commission noted this problem (see quotation above) but also noted that school administrators in other states object to the school census as a basis for allocating state aid because migrant children are often out of residence when the census is taken.

A final word concerning the school-lunch program. Of all groups of children in the nation, migrant children surely stand first in their need for a school-lunch program. The poverty, the long hours commonly worked by mothers as well as fathers, and the general lack of nutritional understanding among these people—all argue for the need. The values to be derived by these children as well as others may include not only the up-grading of their diet and their health, but also valuable elements of nutrition education which to some extent, we may hope, would be passed on to the homes.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that state departments of public instruction devise and seek legislative authorization for a new basis permitting special grants-in-aid to local school districts where migrant children are enrolled for portions of the school term.

2. We recommend that adequate teaching staff be employed by school districts which face considerable influx of migrant children, recognizing that these children require skilled individual attention.

3. We recommend that all remodelling and building expansion programs be reviewed with adaptation to the needs of migrant children in mind. This involves provision of adequate space for proper housing of the peak enrollment. It may suggest creation of multipurpose rooms which can be used as classrooms during peak enrollments and for other purposes at other times.

4. We recommend the provision of hot lunch programs in schools where migrant children are enrolled; and the serving of free lunches when needed. We further recommend increased participation by the federal government in the school lunch program, both through distribution of surplus commodities and financial grants-in-aid.

5. We recommend that special study and experimentation be carried on by local school districts with regard to ways and means of achieving the desirable goal of full integration of migrant children with resident children in all school activities. This is not to exclude the possibility that sound educational procedure may, on occasion, justify separate classes or special instructional groupings for migrant children. In such situations, however, the goal should be re-integration with resident children at the earliest possible moment.

6. We recommend that a substantial appropriation be granted to the U. S. Office of Education (a) to employ a staff of specialists to work with state departments of education on a regional basis; (b) to conduct, in cooperation with state educational agencies, extended research and pilot demonstration programs; (c) to finance and facilitate regional conferences of educators to study these problems and to devise programs for their solution.

7. We recommend that federal legislation similar to that currently providing special financial aid to schools in congested defense-housing areas be enacted to provide special aid to schools facing shortage of facilities and personnel due to influxes of agricultural migratory workers. We call attention in this connection to the fact that efficient food and fiber production is an essential element in national security.

CHAPTER VII

Problems, Attitudes and Practices of Teachers and Principals

THIS CHAPTER seeks to interpret the problem of migrant education as it is seen by the school teacher and administrator. Information presented here was gathered in group interviews, using a formal schedule, from 169 teachers and 28 principals. (See Table 1 for geographical distribution.) The problems recognized by teachers are summarized together with an analysis of the personality traits of migrant children as viewed by their teachers and principals. Modifications which teachers make in their teaching plans and procedures to meet the special needs of migrant children are reported. The suggestions offered by teachers and principals for solution or improvement of these problems are listed.

PROBLEMS FELT BY TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS

The interview schedule contained a check list of problems assumed likely to arise in connection with the presence of migrant children in classes. The teachers and principals were asked to check one of four columns opposite each item, indicating presence or absence of the problem and its intensity. They were also invited to add other problems which they faced because of the presence of migrant children.

Table 37 summarizes the results.

TEACHERS' VIEWS OF MIGRANT CHARACTERISTICS

In the formal interviews, the teachers were asked to compare migrant children with non-migrant children on the basis of their experience with them in school. A chart containing 14 personality traits was provided. The results, tabulated in Table 38 may tell us something about the characteristics of migrant children. It probably tells us at least as much about the attitudes of teachers and principals.

"Average" is the rating most commonly given to migrant children in respect to every trait in the list. "Slightly below average" is, in every case, the second most commonly applied rating. A few points in Table 38 stand out from this general pattern as worthy of mention.

Table 37

PROBLEMS FELT BY TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS OF MIGRANT CHILDREN (SOURCE: 197 INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS)

Problem	*Serious Problem*	*Slight Problem*	*No Problem*	*Don't Know*
Retardation in reading	99	36	16	2
Overload on your time and attention	64	59	34	..
Overcrowding of room and facilities	66	56	43	..
Retardation in spelling	63	57	16	4
Irregular attendance	63	51	50	1
Retardation in writing	42	69	34	1
Parental indifference to education	51	50	33	24
Uncleanliness of bodies and clothes	34	65	68	..
Retardation in arithmetic	33	66	39	1
Retardation in social studies	28	56	31	9
Classroom discipline	13	71	81	..
Playground discipline	10	62	86	3
Retardation in geography	25	45	26	9
Retardation in general	27	34	15	1
Belligerence toward resident children	4	33	115	9
Antagonism from resident children	4	34	118	10

The following list summarizes those problems written in by teachers and principals in addition to the check list above:

Spanish language barrier	10	Insufficient clothing	2
Over-age children	5	Home problems	2
Grammar usage	4	Physical defects	2
Malnutrition	3	Do not like to do outside work and reference work	1
Health and sanitation	3		

Late entry and early drop-out
Tendency to lie, cheat and steal
Non-payment of supply fees
Lack of adjustment to work and play patterns
Represent several achievement levels in all activities
Parental indifference to their children

Table 38

RANKING OF MIGRANT CHILDREN BY THEIR TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS ACCORDING TO A SERIES OF SIGNIFICANT PERSONALITY TRAITS (SOURCE: 197 INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS)

	Far Above Average	*Slightly Above Average*	*Average*	*Slightly Below Average*	*Far Below Average*	*Too Varied To Classify*
Mental ability	..	1	81	45	15	31
Desire to learn	1	7	100	33	14	13
Desire to be in school	4	11	95	39	12	11
Respect for property	..	8	91	45	23	3
Truthfulness	..	7	131	23	5	4
Cleanliness	..	5	90	43	28	8
Respect for law	5	6	104	34	7	10
Ability to adjust	4	17	90	44	10	6
Self-reliance	4	26	78	45	10	6
Self-control	3	15	100	38	6	5
Feeling of belonging	..	8	89	44	15	7
Cooperativeness	1	16	118	24	2	8
Citizenship	1	10	106	32	6	7
Religious feeling	2	11	97	25	10	14

The highest concentration of "average" ratings was found in respect to truthfulness, cooperativeness, citizenship, and respect for law. The largest number of above average ratings was awarded for self-reliance, ability to adjust, and self-control. The fewest marks above the average were given for mental ability and cleanliness.

A disproportionately large number of "below average" ratings were assigned for cleanliness and respect for property. Fewest low ratings were given for cooperativeness and truthfulness.

With respect to mental ability, although there was a comparatively heavy vote for "below average," a very considerable number found these children "too varied to classify."

CURRICULUM ADAPTATIONS

The teachers were asked to describe any modifications which they have made in teaching materials, methods of instruction, daily teaching plans, playground procedures, extra-curricular program or otherwise because of the presence of migrants in their classes. Of 197 teachers and principals interviewed, 88 reported no modifications of any kind due to the presence of migrants. A few of these had had no migrants in their classes, but most of them had some. Table 39 undertakes to summarize in brief form the modifications reported by teachers and principals.

Table 39

MODIFICATIONS IN TEACHING PROCEDURES MADE BECAUSE OF MIGRANT CHILDREN (SOURCE: 197 INTERVIEWS WITH PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS)

	No. of Times Mentioned
a. Modifications in selection of teaching materials	
More individualized material, related to migrant's ability	20
Easier and simpler materials	14
More experience-centered materials	8
More concrete materials, (workbooks, pictures, maps, etc.)	7
More stimulating materials (colors, etc.)	6
Remedial readers	4
More varied types of material	2
Shorter units of study	1
More oral work	1
b. Modifications in methods of instruction	
Different or additional groupings, including remedial sections	28
More personalized and individualized instruction	26
Frequent reviews for newcomers	14
Emphasis on use of English (Spanish-American migrant areas)	6
Simpler methods of instruction	5
Shorter units of work	4
Instruction utilizing migrants' experiences	3
More time per unit	1
Special tests	1
Use of games and competition	1
More seat work	1
Instruction in more concrete terms	1
c. Modification in daily teaching plans	
Greater flexibility	4
Group work, committee planning	3
More special activity periods	2
Let faster children help the slower	1
More group instruction because teacher is overloaded	1
Emphasis on health, safety and living with others	1
Forced interruptions because of absenteeism	1
Concentration of language arts instruction in morning because of excessive absenteeism in afternoon	1

	No. of Times Mentioned
d. Modifications in playground procedures	
Special help to get migrants started in play (Seek help from resident children in this)	5
Teach leadership and assumption of responsibility	5
Closer supervision	4
More emphasis on group play	3
More emphasis on fair play	2
Daily physical education periods	1
Games with Spanish words	1
More flexibility in playground program	1
Seek to use games which may be useful in later life	1
e. Modification in extra-curricular program	
Special efforts to get new children into the program	5
Field trips	1
Vocational guidance	1
Folk dancing	1
Craft work	1
Use of table silver	1
Community projects	1
Concentration of extra-curricular activities in mid-term	1
Emphasize experience-related programs	1
Modification forced by irregular attendance	1
f. Modifications in any other regard	
Faculty group makes case studies of problem children	3
Special teaching of proper toilet habits and cleanliness	2
Special language instruction for Puerto Rican children	2

Other points mentioned:

Concentration of study program in mid-term to accommodate migrants; grade placement to match interest level; emphasis on shop work; softball; teach that all children are equal; special help in selecting library books; assignment of extra tasks to make migrants feel useful; provision of magazines for handwork because migrants have few magazines at home; check on need for free lunches; collect clothing for those in need; referral to free medical agencies; play therapy; announcement of arrival of migrant children on bulletin board and over local radio station; emphasis on attendance; more careful guard over children's personal property; preoccupation of some class time with routine of enrolling late-entering migrants.

SUGGESTIONS OF TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS

Teachers and principals were asked: What suggestions have you for improving the educational opportunities and experiences of migrant children in your community? Summary of the answers appears in Table 40.

Table 40

SUGGESTIONS OF TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS FOR IMPROVING MIGRANT EDUCATION (SOURCE: 197 INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS)

	Total	*Florida*		*Virginia*	*Texas*	*Illinois*
		Negro	*White*			
A. Internal to the School						
Adaptations of curriculum and materials	36	14	4	2	12	4
Improved school facilities	23	18	2	..	2	1
Adjustment of instructional staff	21	9	3	2	3	4
Attendance enforcement	16	7	..	5	1	3
Regularity of attendance	13	6	..	7	..	..
Better recreational equipment and programs	13	10	..	3	..	..
Nursery schools	11	4	..	7	..	..
Better contacts between schools and record transfers	8	2	..	5	..	1
Better health facilities and programs	4	3	1	..	..	..
Federal aid	4	4	..	..	..	..
Special classes or schools	4	..	2	..	2	..
Summer schools	3	..	..	1	..	2
School lunches	3	3	..	..	..	..
Attendance officer	2	..	..	2	..	..
Special state aid	2	1	..	..	1	..
B. External to the School						
Parental education and concern	15	11	..	1	2	1
Improved home life and economic opportunities for families	14	8	2	2	2	..
Greater community interest in the problem	8	6	1	..	1	..
Elimination of child labor	4	4	..	..	..	..

Some of the headings in Table 40 are so broad as to require explanation. Among the adaptations of curriculum and materials suggested were more vocational subjects, more practical courses, more visual aids, specially prepared textbooks, curriculum adapted to needs and interests of migrant children.

Among improvements suggested in school facilities were more classrooms, more modern equipment, better library facilities.

Proposed adjustments in instructional staff included more teachers to reduce teacher loads, special teachers, remedial teachers, Spanish-speaking teachers, teachers who might follow the migrant stream.

In addition to the suggestions included in Table 40, there was a considerable list of miscellaneous suggestions made by only one or two individuals. Some of these, however, may have real merit. The list follows:

Develop guidance council to serve migrant children
Improve functioning of P.T.A. with reference to migrant problems
Improve "follow-up" of individual children
Develop separate rooms for exceptional children
Improve relations between migrant and resident parents
Encourage teacher visitation of parents
Seek lists of migrant children from crew leaders to facilitate enrollment and attendance
Encourage migrant family participation in all community activities.

COMPARATIVE DATA FROM OTHER SOURCES

No other field studies which have come to our attention have gone into the migrant education problem analytically from the standpoint of principals and teachers. However, the Report of Regional Conferences on Education of Migrant Children (13) contains a wealth of helpful analyses and recommendations developed in the four regional conferences held under the auspices of the U. S. Office of Education in May-June, 1952. These conferences were composed primarily of educators from state departments of public instruction. Naturally the prevailing viewpoint is that of the educator.

Following is a summary, adapted from that report, of suggestions for pre-service and in-service training of teachers and administrators designed to help them understand migrant children and their problems.

1. Inspire teachers to give these children the same opportunities so many of us have found in America.

2. Help teachers feel proud to be working toward the solution of one of the serious situations in our society.

3. Give teachers opportunities to observe (and work with) migrants in school; provide a trip through migrant living quarters.

4. Help teachers learn how to develop reading materials and other materials from the experience of migrant children. This is not to be restricted to younger children; older children, too, are so retarded that materials of this sort are needed.

5. Help develop a handbook for teachers giving suggestions of procedures to be used with and for migrant children.

6. Help teachers learn how to provide for and prepare hot lunch programs, especially under handicaps, in rural schools, makeshift school surroundings, etc.

7. Help teachers and administrators learn the skills required to work with parents and with the public.

8. Both pre-service and in-service teacher education should help teachers understand:

a. Their own culture
b. The Spanish-American culture
c. Transition between cultures and how to guide the transition
d. How to teach English to Spanish-speaking children; how to speak Spanish
e. How to work with parents of Spanish-American culture
f. How to use the experience background of these children to help them meet situations in their own lives more intelligently and to gain understandings and skills necessary to become self-directing, responsible citizens.

SUMMARY AND COMMENT

In this chapter we are dealing with a more subjective series of factors than in previous chapters. Attitudes are difficult to investigate objectively or to report statistically.

In general, the field staff and director of this study have gained a very favorable impression of the attitudes of professional personnel (teachers and principals) toward migrant children. It is our judgment that most teachers regard migrant children placed under their care without prejudice or disfavor and seek to do for them educationally as much as they can.

It is not to be denied that the teacher is frequently troubled by the appearance of migrant children because they so often represent an overload which tends to impair her educational efficiency. She is often baffled by their retardation and fragmentary school experence. In a few cases we detected evidence of emotional withdrawal on the part of teachers because of the migrant children's lack of cleanliness. Rarely did we find evidence that the teacher "blamed" the migrant child for this condition. The prevalent attitude is rather one of sympathy for the migrant child's problem, and an earnest desire to do as much as possible for the child while he is under her care.

Only on a few occasions did we detect what seemed to be an invidious distinction in the teacher's attitude between "those migrant kids" and "our own children." We note in passing, however, that a few parents in one of the areas are sensitive to what they regard as prejudice against their children on the part of certain teachers. It is not clear whether this prejudice, if actually existing, is against these children as migrants or against the ethnic group of which they are a part. The comments of these parents seemed to suggest the latter.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend the employment of a supervisory specialist in migrant education on the staff of state departments of public instruction in those states where any considerable number of migrant children are to be found during any portion of the school year. Among the responsibilities of such a specialist would properly be research in and supervision of curriculum adaptations, consultation with teachers and administrators on migrant problems, aid in improving migrant enrollment and attendance rates, facilitating the keeping and transfer of adequate scholastic records on migrant children, creation of better public understanding of migrants and their educational problems, and in general, aiding in the implementation of the recommendations made by this and other responsible studies of this problem.

2. We recommend the provision of more practical and vocational courses for migrant children and the provision of a vocational guidance counselling service in local schools.

3. We recommend that problems of migrant education be made a regular subject for discussion and study among teachers and administrators in local, state and national institutes, workshops, professional conventions and the like.

4. We recommend that teachers faced with migrant problems organize child study groups among themselves for more thorough analysis and more adequate understanding of migrant children and their psychological and sociological problems. Such groups may helpfully consult with local pediatricians, county nurses, social workers and other specialists.

5. We recommend that state departments of public instruction seek the cooperation of the teacher-training institutions in their respective states in providing course material designed to prepare teachers more effectively to cope with problems of migrant education.

6. We recommend that Spanish be taught and its learning as a second language be encouraged in the teacher-training institutions of those states where Spanish-American and Mexican migrants are numerous.

CHAPTER VIII

Migrant Parents: Educational Background and Attitudes

Education is necessary to get through the world today. I never had no learning. Farmed all my life. Those kids in school today are learning fast and they teach me a lot. As times change they are going to need more and more education.

THESE WORDS of a 74-year-old Negro woman who cares for two children and two grandchildren constitute an appropriate introduction to an analysis of the educational background, experiences and limitations of migrant parents. This information was gathered and summarized for its obvious bearing on the educational problems of the migrant children.

Included in this chapter are data concerning the extent of schooling received by the parents in our study and the relation of their educational achievement to the educational experiences of their children. Also reviewed are the problems created by the Spanish language barrier in the homes, the extent of parental contacts with school personnel, the attitudes expressed by parents toward education, the major reasons assigned by parents for the limited schooling of their children, and the suggestions offered by these parents for the improvement of educational opportunities for their children.

EXTENT OF PARENTAL SCHOOLING

Tables 41 and 42 report the grade last attended by the fathers and mothers respectively.

Table 41 shows the distribution of the fathers in terms of the last school grade attended. In nearly one-third of the cases, unfortunately, this information was not available. This was true in about 40 per cent of the Florida Negro interviews and in 46.5 per cent of those taken in Virginia. This reflects, in part, the fact that many of the Negro families interviewed had no permanent male head. It is also true that most of the interviewees (67.7 per cent)

Table 41

GRADE LAST ATTENDED BY FATHERS (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

	Total		*Florida*				*Virginia*		*Texas*		*Illinois*	
			Negro		*White*							
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Total No. of Families	665		266		70		71		162		96	
Total Reporting	458	100.0	159	100.0	54	100.0	38	100.0	128	100.0	79	100.0
Grade Last Attended												
None	92	20.1	23	14.5	4	7.4	7	18.4	39	30.5	19	24.0
1	45	9.8	14	8.8	..	..	3	7.9	21	16.4	7	8.9
2	61	13.3	20	12.6	1	1.9	2	5.2	24	18.8	14	17.7
3	78	17.1	27	17.0	5	9.2	5	13.2	26	20.3	15	19.0
4	69	15.1	32	20.0	10	18.5	4	10.6	11	8.6	12	15.2
5	24	5.3	9	5.7	3	5.5	6	15.8	3	2.3	3	3.8
6	33	7.2	13	8.2	8	14.8	1	2.6	4	3.1	7	8.9
7	19	4.1	9	5.7	5	9.3	5	13.2	..	..	..	..
8	23	5.0	8	5.0	10	18.5	3	7.9	..	..	2	2.5
9	4	.9	1	.6	1	1.9	2	5.2	..	..	..	..
10	8	1.7	2	1.3	6	11.1	..	..	..	..	..	..
11	2	.4	1	.6	1	1.9	..	..	..	..	..	..

were mothers, and in many cases the mothers did not know how far their husbands had gone in school.

Of those replying to this question, a little more than one-fifth report no schooling at all and slightly more than 55 per cent dropped out before entering the fifth grade. Only 14 of the fathers are reported as having gone beyond the eighth grade.

The Spanish-American sample, in both Texas and Illinois, shows definitely sharper limitation of schooling than the other groups. In Texas 30.5 per cent and in Illinois 24 per cent of the fathers had no schooling. Only two fathers in the Latin sample went beyond the sixth grade. The Anglo white sample from Florida rates highest in this regard with 48.5 per cent of the fathers having attained the fifth grade or beyond.

Grade last attended by the mother is much more fully reported. Only 10.2 per cent of the mothers failed to give this information. As a whole the mothers report slightly higher educational attainment than the fathers. In general, however, the patterns are similar.

Table 42

GRADE LAST ATTENDED BY MOTHERS (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

	Total		*Florida*				*Virginia*		*Texas*		*Illinois*	
			Negro		*White*							
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Total No. of Families	665		266		70		71		162		96	
Total Reporting	597	100.0	256	100.0	67	[illegible]	58	100.0	132	100.0	84	100.0
Grade Last Attended												
None	78	13.1	4	1.6	1	1.5	2	3.4	43	32.5	28	33.3
1	45	7.5	8	3.1	..	..	1	1.7	26	19.7	10	11.9
2	57	9.6	18	7.0	1	1.5	4	6.9	24	18.2	11	13.1
3	73	12.2	30	11.7	4	6.0	7	12.1	17	12.9	15	17.8
4	85	14.2	51	19.9	8	11.9	7	12.1	12	9.1	7	8.3
5	57	9.6	32	12.5	8	11.9	6	10.4	5	3.8	6	7.2
6	60	10.1	38	14.8	9	13.5	7	12.1	2	1.5	4	4.8
7	46	7.7	26	10.2	8	11.9	9	15.5	3	2.3	..	..
8	41	6.9	24	9.4	14	20.9	2	3.4	..	..	1	1.2
9	25	4.2	13	5.1	9	13.4	2	3.4	..	..	1	1.2
10	13	2.2	6	2.3	1	1.5	6	10.4	..	..	..	..
11	9	1.5	4	1.6	..	..	4	6.9	..	..	1	1.2
12	7	1.2	2	.8	4	6.0	1	1.7	..	..	..	..

Of the mothers reporting, 13.1 per cent had no schooling at all, while 43.5 per cent dropped out before entering the fifth grade. As with the fathers, so with the mothers, the Florida white group has the highest educational attainment and the Spanish-American group the lowest. A somewhat higher percentage of Latin mothers than of fathers report "never attended."

A question about the age at which the parents started to school revealed that of the parents reporting 56.4 per cent of the fathers and 70.4 per cent of the mothers entered school before their eighth birthday. Another 23.6 per cent of the fathers and 15.6 per cent of the mothers entered at the age of eight. The remaining 20 per cent of fathers and 14 per cent of mothers entered at ages ranging from nine to 12 and above. The Latin-American group shows the greater tendency toward late entry into school. Fifty-seven of the 71 fathers and 58 of the 72 mothers who entered school after the age of eight were in the Spanish-American group.

Analysis of the relationship between grade last attended by fathers and by mothers indicates that, for the families giving information on both, 224 of the mothers had attained the higher grade; 118 of the fathers; and in 76 cases, fathers and mothers left school at the same grade.

Several other cross-tabulations of significance were made from the data furnished by the 665 family schedules. This analysis reveals, for instance, that parents' grade last attended is negatively related to present age. That is to say, the older parents tend to have dropped out of school at relatively lower grades. This suggests that there has been improvement over the long period of years in respect to the amount of schooling received by this group of people. Whether the increase reflected here is greater or less than would be found in a cross-section of the general population we are not in position to report.

Further analysis indicates that early introduction to agricultural work has been a limiting factor in the educational experience of these parents. For example, in the case of fathers who began agricultural work before the age of 10, only 10.4 per cent went beyond the fourth grade; but of those who began agricultural work after 30 years of age, 42.6 per cent reached the fifth grade or above.

The data reveals a positive and clear-cut correlation between the amount of schooling attained by the parents and the likelihood that all of their children will be enrolled in school. See Table 43.

Table 43

RELATION OF PARENTS' SCHOOL ATTAINMENT TO SCHOOL ENROLLMENT OF THEIR CHILDREN, AGE 6-18 (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

Grade last attended by the parent	*Per cent of fathers having all children in school*	*Per cent of mothers having all children in school*
Never attended	30.4	23.1
1-3	35.3	34.6
4-6	50.0	51.2
7-12	64.3	59.6

Examination of the grade attainment of children still living in migrant families, but no longer enrolled in school against the background of their parents' grade last attended reveals an apparently significant relationship. See Table 44.

Table 44

GRADE LAST ATTENDED BY PARENTS RELATED TO GRADE LAST ATTENDED BY THEIR CHILDREN [1] (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

Grade Last Attended by Parents	*No. of Parents*	*Grade Last Attended by Median Child*
Fathers		
0	82	5th
1-4	202	5th
5-8	30	7th
9 and over	6	5th
Mothers		
0	116	4th
1-4	181	5th
5-8	66	6th
9 and over	15	8th

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

A special problem confronting migrant children of Spanish-American origin springs from the habitual use of the Spanish language in the homes. The field interviews in Texas and Illinois reveal that one-third of the fathers speak Spanish only and one-quarter of them understand only Spanish. The mothers in these two areas of study are even more confined to the use of Spanish. Almost two-thirds speak no English and nearly 60 per cent understand no English.

With the children the picture is quite different. Only 12 out of the 258 families report children who cannot understand English and only 14 report children who cannot speak English. According to the field staff, however, among the 258 migrant families interviewed, regardless of their linguistic abilities, all habitually use the Spanish language in the home. This includes conversations involving the children as well as those exclusively among adults. It is further reported that children who speak acceptable English at school and on the playground, customarily speak Spanish among themselves at home. This prevalent use of Spanish in the home constitutes a distinct obstacle to the educational progress of these children.

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[1] Refers only to children no longer in school whose last attendance was prior to September 1952. These were mostly the older "children" of these families, many of them over 18 years of age.

PARENTAL CONTACTS WITH THE SCHOOLS

The informants in the family interviews were either the father or mother of the school age children in 93.7 per cent of the cases. They were asked if they had ever met any of the children's present teachers. The 559 answers to the questions are summarized in Table 45.

Table 45

MIGRANT PARENTS' CONTACTS WITH TEACHERS (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

	Total		*Florida*		*Virginia*	*Texas*	*Illinois*
			Negro	*White*			
Total Number Reporting	559		250	61	10	156	82
Have Met Some of Children's Teachers	No.	%[2]	%	%	%	%	%
At the school	179	32.0	52.3	42.6	10.0	5.1	15.8
In the home	86	15.4	10.4	8.2	..	34.0	2.4
In the town	21	3.8	6.4	8.2	..	..	..
Other	5	.9	1.6	1.6	..	..	..
No contact	315	56.4	42.8	55.8	90.0	62.9	81.8

About one-third of the parents have met some of their children's teachers at the school. In regard to school visitation the Florida groups, both Negro and white, rate relatively high. The Texas group has the highest percentage of parents who have been visited by teachers in their homes. This reflects a deliberate policy of the Juan Seguin School to encourage home visits by teachers. All in all, however, more than half the parents who reported on this matter have had no contact with the present teachers of their children. The rate of "no contact" is extremely high in Virginia and Illinois. This is understandable in view of the short time the children were in residence and the small proportion of children in school.

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[2] Percentage columns do not necessarily total 100.0 because of cases where parents have met teachers in more than one place.

PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION

Certain questions in the migrant family interviews were designed to yield insight into the attitudes of these parents toward education for their children, the problems which they recognize, and their suggestions for improving the situation.

Eighty per cent of those reporting state that they desire their children to finish high school. The remaining 20 per cent were almost equally divided between those holding lower educational aspirations for their children, and those desiring for them a college education. Only in the Florida white group did the proportion aiming at a high school education for their children fall below three-quarters of those reporting. Analysis of replies to this question as related to the educational attainment of the parents is reported in Table 46.

Table 46

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF MIGRANT PARENTS FOR THEIR CHILDREN RELATED TO THEIR OWN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

Educational Aspiration	*Grade Last Attended by Father*			
	0	*1-4*	*5-8*	*9 and over*
For Boys	%	%	%	%
4th grade	1.2	.4	..	..
8th grade	8.5	10.0	3.8	..
High School	81.8	83.5	83.5	75.0
College	8.5	6.1	12.7	25.0
For Girls				
4th grade	1.2	.5	..	..
8th grade	8.6	10.2	4.1	..
High School	84.1	82.4	83.5	77.8
College	6.1	6.9	12.4	22.2
For Boys	*Grade Last Attended by Mother*			
4th grade	1.3	.5	..	..
8th grade	10.5	9.6	5.7	..
High School	84.3	82.6	83.5	83.7
College	3.9	7.3	10.8	16.3
For Girls				
4th grade	1.4	.5	..	..
5th grade	11.2	8.1	7.7	..
High School	84.6	85.7	80.5	80.5
College	2.8	5.7	11.8	19.5

Table 46 shows that no parent gave, as his educational goal for his children, a grade lower than that which he himself had attained. At the other end of the scale, the percentage of those hoping their children can go to college increases in direct relation to the educational attainment of the parent. These trends are significant although the number of cases naming goals other than high school is too small to permit much reliance on the specific percentages.

Another index of parental concern for education is the degree of expectancy that children not enrolled in school will re-enter school at some future time. For 534 children, age 6-18 inclusive, not in school at the time of the interview, answers were given to the question, "Do you expect this child to re-enter school?" Table 47 summarizes these answers by the age of the child.

Table 47

EXPECTATION THAT CHILDREN NOT NOW IN SCHOOL WILL RE-ENTER AT SOME FUTURE TIME (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

Child's Present Age	*Total Children Reported*	*Expected to Re-enter*	
		No.	*%*
	534	227	
6	21	19	90.5
7	30	26	86.7
8	19	19	100.0
9	15	15	100.0
10	22	22	100.0
11	18	18	100.0
12	28	24	84.3
13	30	21	70.0
14	46	19	41.3
15	57	14	24.6
16	97	18	18.6
17	85	9	10.6
18	66	3	4.5

Only six children below the age of 12 were reported as not expected to re-enter. These answers related to six- and seven-year-olds and the respondents may have been referring to children who never yet have attended school. When we pass the age of 12, the percentage of those not expected to re-enter rises rapidly. Of the children not expected to re-enter, 83 are in the compulsory school age group, 12-15 inclusive; 218 are in the group, 16-18. Above the age of 13, a majority of those out of school at each age level is not expected to re-enter, and above the age of 14 this out-of-school group constitutes a majority of all children in the study at each respective age level.

These figures seem to belie the ambitions of the parents regarding educational attainment for their children. It probably represents, in fact, a compromise between the ideals held by many migrant parents, the stern realities of their economic situation, and the waning interest in school on the part of the children who find their schooling broken up and themselves more and more retarded.

A very large proportion of the children of compulsory school age reported as out of school but expecting to re-enter were found "on the road" in Virginia and Illinois, especially the former.

The educational attainment of the parents appears to have a bearing upon the expectation that children, not presently in school, will re-enter. Table 48 summarizes the data available on this point.

Table 48

ANTICIPATION OF CHILDREN'S ENROLLMENT RELATED TO GRADE LAST ATTENDED BY PARENTS (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

Grade Last Attended	*Total Children Reported*	*% Expected to Re-enter School*
Fathers		
0	84	39.2
1-4	222	36.0
5-8	60	56.7
9 and over	12	58.3
Mothers		
0	99	32.3
1-4	211	43.6
5-8	111	42.4
9 and over	50	72.0

Typical of the intensity of concern on the part of some parents for the education of their children are the following quotations:

All children now days need all the learning they can get. The foreign laborers are undermining our jobs in agricultural work. Children have got to have an education now times to make any sort of living. (Negro mother of seven children)

> Education is more valuable to the kids than they are to me, so I send them to school if they have milk and bread. (Negro mother of three, no father in the home)
>
> I don't want these kids to stop school and go to work when they are large enough. I want them to go to school and go as far as possible. There's no place now for uneducated people. (Florida Negro father)
>
> Education means more to me than anything else around. You know it when you don't have it. (31-year-old, pregnant mother of seven children; Florida white group)
>
> I'll stay and eat salt and bread to keep them in school. Their schooling means more than all the world to me. Money will be gone. Their education won't. (White mother, just recovering from illness and trying to support incapacitated husband and two children)
>
> Education is half your life and I didn't get it. (White father of four children)

In addition to their general attitudes toward education the parents were asked one or two questions designed to elicit their reactions to the schools in which their children were presently enrolled. The informants were asked whether they believed that the teachers were giving their children a fair amount of time, attention and help. This was a highly subjective question. An affirmative answer might be given out of politeness or timidity as well as from conviction. Consequently the answers given to this question may not be taken in any sense as a conclusive judgment upon the teachers involved. It is, however, of significance as reflecting attitudes of the parents toward the schools. Thirty-three informants out of 665 indicated a feeling that their children were being unfairly treated by the teachers. All of these were in Florida. Twenty-four of them came from the Negro group, constituting 9 per cent of that sample; nine were from the white group, constituting 12.8 per cent of the white sample.

The free comments of the informants give an over-all impression that the Florida white group feel the schools they find in Palm Beach County are superior to those they had found in other places. It should be borne in mind that most of them came from home bases in rural sections of other southeastern and south central states.

The Florida Negro group were somewhat more critical of the schools in Palm Beach County. Several parents suggested that the teachers "aren't doing the job they should"; that the "kids don't learn much"; that the schools should be improved. These comments were supported by others who remarked that the schools "up north" are better. These reactions may, of course, be related to the nonsegregated school systems with which some of them have become acquainted in northern states. In contrast to these scattering unfavorable judgments on the Florida Negro schools, we had several informants in Virginia who felt that the Florida schools were superior to the Virginia schools.

The final question on the Migrant Family Schedule was: What is the best thing you can suggest that would give your children a better chance for a good education? The informants were encouraged to talk freely on this point and the interviewers were instructed to record as fully as possible their comments. These free comments have been studied carefully both for insight as to the nature of the educational problems felt by migrant parents and for concrete suggestions looking toward improvement of the educational opportunities and experiences of migrant children.

Among the problems mentioned most frequently by these migrant parents as bearing on the education of their children were the following:

a. *Physical illness or handicap.* Sometimes it was some illness or disability of the child which kept him out of school or interrupted his attendance. In many cases, the parents gave their own illness as the reason that they were forced to this undesirable migratory pattern of life and were forced to rely a good deal on the earnings of their children.

b. *Broken homes.* Especially in the Negro group, the absence of a male head of the family has often been the precipitating cause of migrancy and the reason for the interrupted residence of the children.

c. *Illegitimacy.* In several cases, again predominantly in the Negro group, it was pregnancy out of wedlock which interrupted the girl's schooling.

d. *Educational limitations of parents.* Many parents recognize a sequence of cause and effect from their own lack of education to their low earning capacity to the limitation of their children's educational opportunity.

e. *Cost of living.* In various ways, such as reference to costs of clothing, school supplies, medical expenses, etc., these parents acknowledge that their limited economic resources are insufficient to underwrite the kind of educational opportunity which they desire for their children.

Table 49

SUGGESTIONS OF PARENTS FOR IMPROVING MIGRANT EDUCATION (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

	Total	*Florida*		*Virginia*	*Texas*	*Illinois*
		Negro	*White*			
A. *Suggestions pertaining to family conditions*						
Improved family income	121	61	28	..	3	29
Permanent residence with regular employment	121	16	28	11	29	37
Better living conditions	17	10	5	2	..	..
Sufficient clothing	6	3	3	..	..	..
B. *General suggestions for the schools*						
Better schools and teachers	51	31	4	2	14	..
Keep the children in school	37	7	7	8	7	8
Remove discrimination and prejudice	18	4	..	..	14	..
Strengthen and enforce attendance laws	9	..	2	..	7	..
Create nursery schools	7	6	1	..	..	..
C. *Specific suggestions for school facilities and curriculum*						
More practical training	16	13	..	..	3	..
Hot lunches	6	..	5	..	1	..
Supervised playground	4	..	4	..	..	..
Additional bus service	3	1	..	..	2	..
Special attention for retarded children	2	..	2	..	..	..
More music	1	1	..	..	..	..
Longer hours	1	..	1	..	..	..
Summer schools	1	..	..	..	1	..

f. *Other problems.* These included the competition of mechanical cotton-pickers, the competition of Mexican "wet-backs" (illegal entrants from Mexico), and crop vacations.

The suggestions offered by these migrant families themselves for improvement of educational opportunity and experience are summarized in Table 49.

The majority of the specific suggestions summarized in Table 49 concern themselves with the immediate problems of the families themselves, and they are invariably rooted in economic concerns. The recognition seems to be very widespread among these people that it is their own mobility, caused by lack of permanent employment and adequate income which poses the greatest of all problems both to themselves and the schools in the matter of education for their children. There is abundant evidence from the comments of families interviewed, and of families who were passed by because they had recently dropped out of the migratory stream, to indicate that a very large number of these families with school-age children are constantly seeking a means of escape from the treadmill of migrancy.

COMPARATIVE DATA FROM OTHER SOURCES

Roskelly and Clark (2) reported little formal education among the Spanish-American adults in their 1939 study in Colorado. Average school grade completed by persons not in school was 5.0 for males and 4.7 for females; 2.9 for foreign born and 5.8 for native born. They refer back to the work of Olaf Larson in 1937 which revealed that in a Weld County sample of Spanish-American beet workers 14 per cent of the males and 38 per cent of the females over 16 years of age could not read, write, or speak English. Forty-two per cent of the males and 55 per cent of the females could not use English in all three situations—reading, writing and speaking.

Thomas and Taylor (11), also in Colorado, found that nearly 40 per cent of the migrant workers 16 or more years of age, in their 1950 sample, used only the Spanish language, and that an even higher percentage (65 per cent) of the children between seven and 16 used only Spanish. Also 30 per cent of the family heads were illiterate. Of all household heads, over two-thirds had not completed more than the fourth grade and less than 7 per cent had gone beyond the eighth grade. The average male head had achieved 1.8 grades, whereas the average homemaker had passed 4.1 grades. Younger heads of families were generally better educated than older ones. Mothers, it is reported, generally felt that unless opportunities for school attendance were provided and used there was little hope that the future of the children would be any better than their own drab existence.

SUMMARY AND COMMENT

This chapter has illuminated several important aspects of the central problem of this study. This generation of migrant children is growing up in homes of very limited educational attainment. Many of them become educational pioneers by the time they have entered the fifth grade if not before. Those in the Spanish-American stream are further handicapped by the habitual use of the Spanish language in their homes and their lack of conversance with English.

Limitations of parental background mean that generally speaking these children must go forward educationally with little help from their parents in the way of understanding the specific values and meanings of their present educational experiences. Sometimes it means also that if they are to continue in school they must do so despite indifference or even antagonism toward education on the part of their parents.

A serious deficiency has been revealed, doubtless due in large part to the transiency of migrant families, in the lack of contact between migrant parents and their children's schools and teachers. These parents may be among the hardest to locate and among the shyest in respect to social contacts. As one Negro mother put it to the field interviewer: "We are just a poor farming family from Alabama and Georgia. We ain't never had nothing, won't ever have anything and one place where there's our kind of work is as good as another."

Nevertheless, and indeed for these very reasons, we believe the school administrators and teachers should make special efforts to reach migrant parents with friendliness and encouragement and to show them how vital is the need for the continued schooling of their children.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that local school boards, teachers, P.T.A. groups, civic, religious and grower groups pool their efforts locally in vigorous campaigns to impress upon migrant parents the values of education for their children and to encourage them to keep the children continuously in school as many years as possible. As a part of this effort, and for other purposes, efforts should be made to bring migrant parents into full membership in local P.T.A.'s.

2. We recommend that local school boards, with the cooperation of agricultural extension and home demonstration services and other adult education agencies, organize and promote adult education classes for migrants in such areas as English language (for Spanish speaking), parent education, health and nutrition, home arts, practical arithmetic, economic problems and other subjects adapted to their needs.

3. We recommend that teachers make special efforts to meet the parents of migrant children, to interpret to them the significance and values of the curriculum subjects being studied by their children, and to encourage the continued and regular attendance at school by the children.

4. We recommend the fostering by local school districts of young adult classes among migrants designed to overcome deficiencies in their formal schooling and to aid them in preparation for mature adult life and parenthood.

5. We recommend that school authorities join with other civic groups in efforts to secure general public recognition and acceptance of migrants as legitimate and normal members of the community entitled to services from and participation in all community programs and institutions.

CHAPTER IX

Economic Factors Affecting Education of Migrant Children

SCHOOLING is not an isolated aspect of the migrant child's experience. It is part of the child's total life experience. Many other aspects of his life bear upon the extent and nature of his educational history. In this study, we have been forced by limitation of resources to ignore many inter-related factors such as health and housing. We did, however, gather some information pertaining to the work history of children and parents and their respective earnings. This information was felt to be essential to an evaluation of the economic capacity of these parents to keep their children in school. This chapter summarizes the relevant economic data from the 665 migrant family schedules. The chapter includes information on the amount of work and of income received by these families during the year and the reported work and earnings of the children for the week immediately preceding the interview.

FAMILY LABOR AND INCOME

Table 50 reports the approximate number of days during the twelve months prior to the interview in which some members of the scheduled family had employment. This is a rough measure in that (a) it does not indicate how many persons in the family were working; (b) it depends upon the memory of the interviewee. However, the interviewers took considerable pain to get accurate reporting on this point and we present the data in the belief that it affords a fair picture of the fragmentary nature of migrant employment in agriculture. A considerable amount of non-agricultural employment (as reported to our interviewers) is also included in this summary.

Table 50 shows that about half our families had some members employed between 120 and 239 days during the year of record, with 21.1 per cent falling below that level and 28 per cent at-

Table 50

EXTENT OF ANNUAL EMPLOYMENT (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES):

		Total	*Florida*		*Virginia*	*Texas*	*Illinois*
			Negro	*White*			
Total Families	No.	545	234	44	54	125	88
Fully reported	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Days of Employment							
Less than 80	No.	18	3	2	..	13	..
	%	3.4	1.2	4.5	..	10.4	..
80 to 119	No.	30	..	1	2	21	6
	%	5.6	..	2.3	3.7	16.8	6.8
120 to 159	No.	66	11	5	6	29	15
	%	12.1	4.7	11.4	11.1	23.2	17.1
160 to 199	No.	111	33	13	23	26	16
	%	20.3	14.1	29.6	42.6	20.8	18.2
200 to 239	No.	167	104	4	20	20	19
	%	30.6	44.5	9.0	37.0	16.0	21.6
240 to 279	No.	118	71	8	2	12	25
	%	21.6	30.4	18.2	3.7	9.6	28.4
280 to 319	No.	29	10	9	1	3	6
	%	5.3	4.3	20.5	1.9	2.4	6.8
320 or more	No.	6	2	2	..	1	1
	%	1.1	.8	4.5	..	.8	1.1

taining more continuous employment. The median percentile, which falls in the bracket 200-239 for the total group, falls as follows for the various centers: 200-239 in Florida Negro group; 200-239 in Florida white; 160-199 in Virginia; 120-259 in Texas; 200-239 in Illinois. The low rate of employment in Texas reflects the lack of employment opportunity during the winter months in Seguin.

A more accurate measure of employment is given in Table 51. This table reports man-days of employment; i.e. the number of days of employment multiplied by the number of persons employed as reported by the interviewee. Again this is an approximation. It depends on the recollection of the interviewee. It also represents his or her report in terms of blocks of time in a given location. These estimates probably tend to over-estimate the man-days of employment, because the interviewee would be prone to remember the family group as employed while overlooking days missed by some member because of illness, home duties, bad weather, etc.

Table 51

ESTIMATED MAN-DAYS OF EMPLOYMENT BY FAMILIES IN 12-MONTH PERIOD (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

		Total	*Florida*		*Virginia*	*Texas*	*Illinois*
			Negro	*White*			
Total Families	No.	545	234	44	54	125	88
Fully Reported	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Man-days of Employment							
Less than 200	No.	45	11	6	7	16	5
	%	8.3	4.7	13.7	13.0	12.8	5.7
200 to 399	No.	228	96	22	24	46	40
	%	41.9	41.0	49.9	44.4	36.8	45.4
400 to 599	No.	182	84	11	16	41	30
	%	33.4	35.9	25.0	29.6	32.8	34.1
600 to 799	No.	63	26	4	5	18	10
	%	11.5	11.1	9.1	9.3	14.4	11.4
800 to 999	No.	15	11	..	..	3	1
	%	2.7	4.7	..	..	2.4	1.1
1000 or more	No.	12	6	1	2	1	2
	%	2.2	2.6	2.3	3.7	.8	2.3

Table 51 indicates that about three-fourths of the families in the study secured between 200 and 600 man-days of employment during the reported year. All the geographical groups cluster about this norm, with Texas falling somewhat below and Illinois rising somewhat above the others. In all centers, the families working 200-399 man-days exceeded the number working 400-599 man-days.

We are next interested in the family income resulting from this volume of work. Table 52 sets forth the annual family earnings as estimated and reported by the interviewees. We are aware of the doubtful nature of income data in social research. We can only say for these data that the field staff were at great pains to reassure the informants of the confidential nature of the information and otherwise to win their confidence. Much patience was expended in building up the family's income picture, location by location, and job by job to an annual total. In some cases withholding tax slips and other evidences were adduced to support the information given. In general, the field staff, most of them trained investigators, believe the income data to be reliable.

Table 52

ESTIMATED TOTAL FAMILY EARNINGS OF THE PAST 12-MONTHS (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

		Total	*Florida*		*Virginia*	*Texas*	*Illinois*
			Negro	*White*			
Total Families	No.	558	237	58	58	118	87
Fully Reporting	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Family Earnings							
Under $500	No.	3	..	..	..	3	..
	%	.5	..	..	..	2.4	..
500 to 999	No.	26	13	2	..	4	4
	%	4.7	5.5	3.4	..	3.4	4.6
1000 to 1499	No.	86	47	9	3	12	9
	%	15.4	19.8	15.5	5.2	10.2	10.3
1500 to 1999	No.	98	52	11	9	14	7
	%	17.6	22.0	19.0	15.5	11.9	8.0
2000 to 2499	No.	101	47	8	14	24	11
	%	18.1	19.8	13.8	24.1	20.3	12.6
2500 to 2999	No.	83	27	11	11	16	21
	%	14.8	11.4	19.0	19.0	13.6	24.1
3000 to 3499	No.	60	18	8	8	14	13
	%	10.8	7.6	13.8	13.8	11.9	14.9
3500 to 3999	No.	37	11	3	7	12	7
	%	6.6	4.6	5.2	12.1	10.2	8.0
4000 to 4499	No.	26	9	4	4	10	3
	%	4.7	3.8	6.9	6.9	8.5	3.5
4500 to 4999	No.	13	4	1	..	4	3
	%	2.3	1.7	1.7	...	3.4	3.5
5000 to 5499	No.	12	4	1	1	3	4
	%	2.2	1.7	1.7	1.7	2.5	4.6
5500 or more	No.	13	5	..	1	2	5
	%	2.3	2.1	..	1.7	1.7	5.9

Of the 558 families giving full income reports for the preceding 12 months, 56.3 per cent reported estimated total family income of less than $2500. Moreover, 38.2 per cent of the families reported incomes below $2000 for the year. Families reporting more than $4000 of annual income constituted only 11.5 per cent of the total group.

Using $2500 annual income as a convenient breaking point close to the median for the sample as a whole, Table 53 shows the percentage of families, by study centers, falling below and above that amount.

Table 53

FAMILY EARNINGS BY CENTERS (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

Study Center	*Per cent of Families earning under $2500*	*Per cent of Families earning $2500 or more*
Florida—Negro	67.1	32.9
Florida—White	51.7	48.3
Virginia	44.8	55.2
Texas	48.2	51.8
Illinois	35.5	64.5

The large percentage of low-income families in the Florida Negro group reflects, in part at least, the considerable number of these families lacking any permanent male head. In these cases the family income generally consists of that which can be earned by the mother and the children. Any financial contribution from an adult male in these cases is quite casual, unpredictable, and relatively small in amount.

At the other extreme the larger percentage of Illinois families in the higher income bracket is influenced by the presence of four or five crew leaders in the sample. Their earnings, derived from several sources, ran into figures well in excess of $5000.

Analysis of the income data reveals that those families which reported the larger number of different residences during the year tend to report higher incomes than those who move less frequently. Table 54 illustrates this fact.

Table 54

FAMILY EARNINGS RELATED TO MOBILITY

No. of Residences in past 12 months	*Per cent of Families earning under $2500*	*Per cent of Families earning $2500 or more*
2	64.5	35.5
3	54.6	45.4
4	55.1	44.9
5	43.7	56.3
6 or more	35.9	64.1

This analysis suggests that there may be an element of direct competition between the economic needs of the family which demand that they "keep moving" and the educational needs of the children which are best served by more permanent residence.

The economic value of labor performed by the children is also hinted at by the fact that less than half the families earning under

$2500 during the year reported having any children, age 6-18, out of school, whereas two-thirds of the families earning $2500 or more reported some children, age 6-18, out of school.

CHILD LABOR AND EARNINGS

The data do not permit a separate tabulation of the amount of work or earnings of individual children for the year. Some information is available, however, pertaining to the work experience of the children during the seven-day period immediately preceding the interview. The field interviewing was done during school term and, except in Texas, during periods typical of the agricultural work pattern in the area.

Of the total 2093 children above five years of age involved in the study, 57 per cent are reported as never having worked in agriculture. An additional 7.5 per cent reported no work during the seven days prior to the interview. On 18.4 per cent no report of work history was available. This leaves us with a work report during the sample work week for 357 children, comprising 17.1 per cent of the children over five years of age in the study. Table 55 breaks down these data by study centers.

Table 55

WORK HISTORY OF MIGRANT CHILDREN (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

Work History		*Total*	*Florida*		*Virginia*	*Texas*	*Illinois*
			Negro	*White*			
Total Children	No.	2093	725	198	169	656	345
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Never worked in agriculture	No.	1194	560	120	62	257	195
	%	57.0	77.2	60.5	36.6	39.1	56.4
No work in past 7 days	No.	157	9	17	18	99	14
	%	7.5	1.3	8.6	10.7	15.1	4.1
Working during past 7 days	No.	357	119	34	19	75	110
	%	17.1	16.4	17.2	11.3	11.5	31.9
Not reported	No.	385	37	27	70	225	26
	%	18.4	5.1	13.7	41.4	34.3	7.6

It will be noted from Table 55 that the Florida Negro group reports the highest percentage "never worked in agriculture." The

Illinois sample reported by far the largest percentage working during the preceding seven days. The other "on the road" center, Virginia, might have had a comparable percentage working but for the comparatively large unreported group in that center.

In view of the publicity which has been given to the federal law prohibiting employment of school age children in agriculture while local schools are in session, it is entirely possible that there was some under-reporting in this matter of the number of school age children working during the sample work week.

Table 56 reports, by study centers, the number of hours worked during the sample work week for the 357 children who were reported as working.

Table 56

HOURS WORKED BY CHILDREN DURING SAMPLE WORK WEEK (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

		Total	*Florida*		*Virginia*	*Texas*	*Illinois*
			Negro	*White*			
Total reporting work	No.	357	119	34	19	75	110
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Hours Worked							
Under 10 hours	No.	24	..	4	4	1	15
	%	6.7	..	11.8	21.0	1.3	13.6
10 to 19	No.	44	1	7	8	4	24
	%	12.3	.8	20.6	42.1	5.3	21.8
20 to 29	No.	28	5	6	3	3	11
	%	7.8	4.2	17.6	15.8	4.0	10.0
30 to 39	No.	39	16	5	3	2	13
	%	10.9	13.4	14.7	15.8	2.7	11.8
40 to 49	No.	87	21	7	1	39	19
	%	24.3	17.7	20.6	5.3	52.0	17.3
50 to 59	No.	56	26	4	..	14	12
	%	15.7	21.9	11.8	..	18.7	10.9
60 to 69	No.	73	47	1	..	11	14
	%	20.6	39.5	2.9	..	14.7	12.8
70 and over	No.	6	3	..	..	1	2
	%	1.7	2.5	..	..	1.3	1.8

From these data it appears that the median number of hours worked by these children was slightly over 40. A more significant analysis is given in Table 57. There the hours worked by the 357 children are related to the ages of the children.

Table 57

HOURS WORKED BY CHILDREN DURING SAMPLE WORK WEEK BY AGE GROUPS (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

Hours Worked	*Age 6*	*Age 7-10*	*Age 11-15*	*Age 16-18*	*19 or over*
Total	1	6	73	160	117
1-9 hours	1	..	7	13	3
10 to 19	..	2	13	17	12
20 to 29	..	..	10	10	8
30 to 39	..	2	11	19	7
40 to 49	..	..	13	35	39
50 to 59	..	1	6	28	21
60 to 69	..	1	13	34	25
70 and over	..	..	..	4	2

From Table 57 it appears that 79 children of legal school age (7-15) were employed in agriculture at some time during the sample work week. They constitute 7.3 per cent of the total number of children in the compulsory school age bracket found in the 665 families interviewed. Most of those employed were above the age of 10. Above the age of 16, we find much larger numbers of the children at work, and many of them working well over 40 hours per week.

Table 58

EARNINGS OF CHILDREN DURING SAMPLE WORK WEEK (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

Earnings of Children	*Total*	*Age 7-10*	*Age 11-15*	*Age 16-18*	*19 and over*
Total reporting	349	5	69	161	114
1 to 9 dollars	35	1	9	17	8
10 to 19 "	68	2	22	25	19
20 to 29 "	69	1	17	35	16
30 to 39 "	120	1	17	61	41
40 to 49 "	45	..	3	18	24
50 dollars or more	12	..	1	5	6

Table 58 summarizes, by age groups, the earnings of those children who worked during the sample work week. Only five children below the age of 11 reported separate earnings, and only two of these earned as much as $20. Sixty-nine children in the 11-15 year bracket reported earnings. Fifty-six of them earned between $10 and $40. When we get above the legal school age limit, we find the economic contribution more substantial. Here 161 report earnings. More than half of them earned over $30 during the record week.

The age at which migrant children begin agricultural work is of interest to us. Table 59 gives this information for the children reported on this point.

Table 59

AGE AT WHICH CHILDREN BEGAN AGRICULTURAL WORK (SOURCE: 665 MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULES)

		Total	*Florida*		*Virginia*	*Texas*	*Illinois*
			Negro	*White*			
Total	No.	781	120	69	45	399	148
Reporting	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Age Began Work							
Under 10	No.	134	6	32	6	89	1
	%	17.1	5.0	46.4	13.3	22.3	.7
10 to 14	No.	501	71	24	34	282	90
	%	64.3	59.2	34.8	75.6	70.7	60.7
15 to 18	No.	134	37	13	5	22	57
	%	17.1	30.8	18.8	11.1	5.5	38.6
19 and over	No.	12	6	..	..	6	..
	%	1.5	5.0	..	..	1.5	..

It appears from Table 59 that 781 of the children in our sample have some history of agricultural work. This constitutes 37.4 per cent of the 2094 children above age five in the sample. Of the 781 children, 81.4 per cent of them began work before they were 15 years of age.

The Texas children began agricultural work at lower ages on the average than the total sample. The Virginia group also shows, proportionally, more children working at early ages than the total group. These are balanced by the Florida Negro and the Illinois groups where the average age at which children began agricultural work is shown to be somewhat higher than that of the sample as a whole. The beneficial effect upon their education was evident.

SUMMARY AND COMMENT

Every study of agricultural migrants is a study of poverty. This one is no exception. Although our economic inquiries were incidental to our central concern with the education of migrant children, they support the findings of many other studies in this regard and they sustain the verdict of the President's Commission, written in 1951, that they are indeed the children of misfortune. Fragmentary employment at low wages, lack of protection even by the modest federal minimum wage law, competition in the Southwest from swarms of illegal "wet-backs" reduce these people to the lowest rungs of the national income ladder. More than half the families in our study, even with the work of women and children, found themselves unable to earn $2500 in 1952. Another fourth of them earned between $2500 and $3500. The remaining 18.1 per cent who earned more than $3500 were in most cases very large families with several workers or crew leaders whose income was supplemented by percentage "cuts" from the wages of those who worked under their direction.

In the light of these economic circumstances it is not surprising that (a) most children work in the crops, at least during school vacation, from an early age; (b) that there is a good deal of absenteeism from school due to children's going to the fields for work on days of plentiful harvest; (c) that a large percentage of all migrant children drop out of school at the earliest legally permissible age.

The only real surprise revealed in this chapter is the relatively small number of children of school age found to be working during the sample work week. In two of our group samples (Texas and Florida, white) agricultural work was not available to children at the time of the study. In another (Illinois) we were dealing with a community which has made a definite effort to get these children out of the fields and into school. In the other two (Florida, Negro, and Virginia) the extent of child labor may have been somewhat under-reported because of the growing awareness that such labor during school hours is illegal. When all allowances have been made, it is our conclusion that the problem of child labor during school hours for children of legal compulsory school age is a diminishing one in the areas chosen for this study. This is not to say that it had been eliminated, nor that no areas could have been found where this problem is worse. It is, however, a tribute to the force of the federal prohibition of child labor during school hours and to a growing body of public sentiment in many communities that very considerable progress has been made.

In an earlier chapter we asserted that the ultimate solution to the educational problems of migrant children is the elimination of migrancy. Assuming that this goal is remote, we are convinced that the most fundamental type of improvement within the migratory framework lies in extending and stabilizing the employment opportunities for heads of families and raising the wages so that hours times wages will normally return to the head of the family an annual living wage.

We further believe that these wage workers in agriculture should be included in the programs now firmly established for the protection of most wage workers in other economic enterprises. We refer to minimum wage legislation, Old Age and Survivors Insurance, unemployment compensation, and workmen's compensation.

If these goals can be approximated, many of the educational problems incident to working mothers, working children, untended children, etc., would be minimized. Compensation for agricultural labor at this level would probably mean an increase in the nation's grocery bill. This is a price we believe the people of this nation should stand ready to pay for the sake of strengthening this weak spot in our democratic society.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that state departments of education and local boards of education initiate, at state and local level respectively, inter-agency committees on migrant labor problems. Such committees should include among others, representatives of public departments of education, health, welfare, labor, agricultural extension, farm placement, highway patrol. Also helpful would be representatives of farm, labor, religious, educational and other civic organizations. Such inter-agency committees should be organized to conduct studies, recommend state legislation and local ordinances, and initiate action projects to improve the economic, social and educational opportunities of migrant families and their children.

2. We recommend, in view of the close relationship between the economic status and security of migrant families and the ability of their children to take advantage of educational opportunities, that federal legislation be enacted which will cover all agricultural workers, including seasonal and migratory workers, under the federal minimum wage law and include them in the Old Age and Survivors Insurance provisions of the Social Security Act.

CHAPTER X

Migrant and Resident Children Compared: Florida Testing Program[1]

EVERY social situation involves two series of elements. One may be called the external series, consisting of social structures, institutions, relationships. The other is the internal or psychological series embracing human experiences, attitudes, emotions, adjustments and the like. The inner series is more subtle, more subjective and normally less susceptible to measurement and statistical analysis. Yet in some respects it may be equally, or even more important in defining suitable lines of action.

This study has sought, insofar as feasible, to take account of these subjective elements in the problem of adequate education for migrant children. This attempt has been reflected in reporting (see Chapters VII and VIII) on the attitudes of migrant parents and of school teachers and principals. It was very much in our consciousness as we participated in the various group discussions conducted at the study centers. Another experimental attempt to get at a significant phase of the subjective factor was the pupil testing program reported in this chapter.

The fundamental question posed was: What are the effects of migrancy on the inner life of the child? This was obviously too large a question to be handled scientifically within the resources at our disposal. It had to be limited in scope and broken down into manageable components.

More specifically, we set ourselves the task of seeking for observable differences between migrant and non-migrant children in the areas of general operational ability, reading achievement, arithmetic achievement, personality adjustment and emotional adjustment.

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[1] The Pupil Testing Program reported in this chapter was conducted under the direction of Dr. Hazen A. Curtis, Professor of Education, School of Education, Florida State University, Tallahassee. Dr. Curtis is co-author with Mr. Greene of this chapter.

THE TESTING PROGRAM

The tests used in this program were as follows:

Intelligence—Kuhlmann-Finch Test
Reading and Arithmetic Achievement—Iowa Every Pupil Test of Basic Skills in Reading and in Arithmetic
Personality Adjustment—The California Test of Personality
Emotional Adjustment—The Mooney Problem Check Lists

The Kuhlmann-Finch Test was chosen as an accepted instrument in the field of intelligence testing for groups of school children and as one which minimizes the amount of reading skill required to handle the test. The investigators desired a general indication of the operational ability of these children in school-related situations. Since the Kuhlmann-Finch Test was developed and standardized with school children the authors selected it for this purpose.

The Iowa Every Pupil Test was utilized as standard in the field of testing academic achievement.

The California Test of Personality and the Mooney Problem Check Lists were selected as the best available instruments to probe the areas of personality and emotional adjustment. It is acknowledged by the authors of this report that the precision of these or any other instruments currently available in these difficult fields are subject to serious question. Experts differ as to their value, and expert judgments upon the validity of findings based on the use of these tests will correspondingly vary.

The tests were conducted in the "Glades" area of Palm Beach County, Florida. Grades V and VIII were chosen as the most suitable grade levels for the purpose. The total group of children available at these grade levels in three white and nine Negro schools was 428. The same definition of migrant was used in this program as in the family interviewing (see p. 47). The 428 children were distributed as shown in Table 60.

As Table 60 shows, in the sample of white children, the nonmigrants outnumber the migrants four to one in the fifth grade and

Table 60

DISTRIBUTION OF TESTED CHILDREN BY RACE AND GRADE

	White				*Negro*			
	Grade V		*Grade VIII*		*Grade V*		*Grade VIII*	
	No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Migrant	19	19	11	25	125	61	44	56
Non-Migrant	80	81	33	75	81	39	35	44
Total	99		44		206		79	

three to one in the eighth grade. In the Negro sample, on the contrary, the migrants are in the majority, constituting almost two-thirds of the fifth graders and well over half of the eighth graders. These ratios are reflective, it should be added, of the total school situation in the "Glades" area. Migrant children are a distinct minority in the white schools, but in mid-season constitute an actual majority of the enrollment in the Negro schools. This is a cultural factor with which we shall have to reckon in the interpretation of our findings.

We have sought, at every point in the analysis of the test results to claim no more for these results than the evidence appears to warrant. We regard this whole phase of our project as experimental and all its findings as hypothetical. Our findings are clues rather than conclusions. We are hopeful that this modest testing program may be useful as a pioneer effort in the near future.

TEST RESULTS

The eight tables which follow give an over-all view of the findings of the testing program.

Table 61

CHRONOLOGICAL AGE AND SUMMARY OF TEST SCORES MADE BY NON-MIGRANT WHITE CHILDREN—GRADE V

Test	*No. of Scores*	*First Quartile* Q_1	*Median* M	*Third Quartile* Q_3	*National Norm*
Chronological Age (in months)	80	124.78	129.25	140.50	
Standard I.Q.	76	80.50	94.25	104.25	100
Total Reading	77	40.63	53.83	63.75	56
Total Arithmetic	79	43.13	50.63	55.38	56
Life Adjustment	75	28.54	46.50	67.71	(25-50-75)
Problem Check List	78	54.50	23.99	10.25	

Table 62

CHRONOLOGICAL AGE AND SUMMARY OF TEST SCORES MADE BY MIGRANT WHITE CHILDREN—GRADE V

Test	*No. of Scores*	*First Quartile* Q_1	*Median* M	*Third Quartile* Q_3	*National Norm*
Chronological Age (in months)	19	131.75	140.50	162.25	
Standard I.Q.	19	62.75	86.50	100.25	100
Total Reading	19	33.88	42.75	57.13	56
Total Arithmetic	19	39.75	49.50	54.25	56
Life Adjustment	19	18.75	30.83	41.25	(25-50-75)
Problem Check List	19	75.25	58.50	21.75	

Table 63

CHRONOLOGICAL AGE AND SUMMARY OF TEST SCORES MADE BY NON-MIGRANT WHITE CHILDREN—GRADE VIII

Test	*No. of Scores*	*First Quartile* Q_1	*Median* M	*Third Quartile* Q_3	*National Norm*
Chronological Age (in months)	33	161.31	164.33	169.75	
Standard I.Q.	33	98.13	109.13	113.75	100
Total Reading	33	72.42	82.25	93.75	86
Total Arithmetic	33	76.63	86.33	96.88	86
Life Adjustment	33	20.20	32.50	48.75	(25-50-75)
Problem Check List	33	39.88	32.75	25.25	

Table 64

CHRONOLOGICAL AGE AND SUMMARY OF TEST SCORES MADE BY MIGRANT WHITE CHILDREN—GRADE VIII

Test	*No. of Scores*	*First Quartile* Q_1	*Median* M	*Third Quartile* Q_3	*National Norm*
Chronological Age (in months)	11	170.25	172.50	177.25	
Standard I.Q.	11	86.88	93.50	101.25	100
Total Reading	10	60.50	68.50	87.50	86
Total Arithmetic	11	67.38	75.50	79.25	86
Life Adjustment	11	9.38	52.50	76.25	(25-50-75)
Problem Check List	11	50.25	42.25	20.38	

A brief interpretation of the foregoing tables may be helpful to the reader. The first line in each table reports the chronological age (in months) of the children. Each of the other lines in each table gives the report on a separate test. Line 2 reports the results of the Kuhlmann-Finch Intelligence Tests. Line 3 reports on the Iowa Every Pupil Test of Basic Skills in Reading; and line 4 in arithmetic. Line 5 reports the so-called Life Adjustment Score which is the over-all score in the California Test of Personality. Line 6 gives the report on the problems checked by the children in the Mooney Problem Check Lists.

Now concerning the columns. The method of analysis selected out of several possible methods, was the method of quartile distribution. It was felt that for the purpose of comparing migrant and non-migrant children, this method would have maximum utility. This method consists, first, of laying out all the scores made by one group of children (e.g. the non-migrant, white, fifth graders) in order of the size of the score. Then beginning from the lowest score, note is taken of that score below which 25 per cent of the scores fall; the one below which 50 per cent of the scores fall; and the one below which 75 per cent of the scores fall. Thus the group is divided into four equal parts, or quarters. The scores which are found at these three breaking points are designated respectively Q_1 (first quartile), M (median), and Q_3 (third quartile).

The first column in each of the summary tables indicates the number of cases represented. The number opposite "Chronological Age" reflects the total number of children involved in the testing program. Numbers opposite some of the tests vary from that norm. This is because some children were absent from school on the days when certain tests were administered. It also reflects the facts, as will be pointed out later, that some of the tests were so incompletely filled out or so badly below standard that it was impossible to assign meaningful scores to them.

The second column reports the score found at the first quartile point (Q_1). Column 3 reports the median (M) score. Column 4 gives the score found at the third quartile point (Q_3). Column 5 notes the national normal score for the test where such has been established.

To illustrate, a correct interpretation of line 2, of Table 61, reporting on the Standard I.Q. scores of the non-migrant, white children at Grade V would be: Table 61, line 2 tells us that 76 non-migrant, white children in Grade V made scores on the Kuhl-

Table 65

CHRONOLOGICAL AGE AND SUMMARY OF TEST SCORES MADE BY NON-MIGRANT NEGRO CHILDREN—GRADE V

Test	*No. of Scores*	*First Quartile* Q_1	*Median* M	*Third Quartile* Q_3	*National Norm*
Chronological Age (in months)	80	129.25	136.67	150.99	
Standard I.Q.	60	64.99	73.50	83.99	100
Total Reading	79	28.88	33.13	39.54	56
Total Arithmetic	74	34.10	37.99	43.92	56
Life Adjustment	68	20.91	30.71	44.99	(25-50-75)
Problem Check List	72	71.33	48.67	34.50	

Table 66

CHRONOLOGICAL AGE AND SUMMARY OF TEST SCORES MADE BY MIGRANT NEGRO CHILDREN—GRADE V

Test	*No. of Scores*	*First Quartile* Q_1	*Median* M	*Third Quartile* Q_3	*National Norm*
Chronological Age (in months)	117	133.65	145.25	158.92	
Standard I.Q.	62	61.50	70.33	80.50	100
Total Reading	106	27.79	30.28	37.75	56
Total Arithmetic	112	33.40	37.90	43.14	56
Life Adjustment	85	20.52	29.77	41.53	(25-50-75)
Problem Check List	100	63.99	48.50	33.33	

Table 67

CHRONOLOGICAL AGE AND SUMMARY OF TEST SCORES MADE BY NON-MIGRANT NEGRO CHILDREN—GRADE VIII

Test	*No. of Scores*	*First Quartile* Q_1	*Median* M	*Third Quartile* Q_3	*National Norm*
Chronological Age (in months)	32	169.50	175.50	184.50	
Standard I.Q.	24	67.99	82.99	86.99	100
Total Reading	13	45.63	48.75	56.75	86
Total Arithmetic	24	47.50	53.99	59.99	86
Life Adjustment	16	8.75	24.99	49.99	(25-50-75)
Problem Check List	29	47.75	33.50	15.42	

Table 68

CHRONOLOGICAL AGE AND SUMMARY OF TEST SCORES MADE BY MIGRANT NEGRO CHILDREN—GRADE VIII

Test	*No. of Scores*	*First Quartile* Q_1	*Median* M	*Third Quartile* Q_3	*National Norm*
Chronological Age (in months)	39	169.88	175.83	191.08	
Standard I.Q.	29	71.08	77.50	87.75	100
Total Reading	16	45.99	51.99	60.99	86
Total Arithmetic	39	48.38	53.75	63.25	86
Life Adjustment	20	12.50	18.00	27.50	(25-50-75)
Problem Check List	38	58.50	47.99	27.17	

mann-Finch Intelligence Test. Of these 76 scores, one-quarter fell below 80.50; one-half fell below 94.25; three-quarters fell below 104.25. Each line of each Table may be interpreted in exactly this same way, except for a slight variation in the last line.

On the Mooney Problem Check Lists, the score consists merely of the number of problems underlined by the child as troublesome to him. It is assumed that the smaller number of problems checked, the better the degree of adjustment. To make these scores conform in meaning to the others, the series were reversed so that the higher scores rather than the lower are reported in the first quartile. The interpretation of line 6, Table 61, therefore would run as follows: On the Mooney Problem Check Lists, 78 non-migrant, white children at Grade V made scores. Twenty-five per cent checked more than 54.50 problems; half checked more than 23.99 problems; and three-quarters checked more than 10.25 problems.

TEST SCORE ANALYSIS [2]

We are now ready to summarize the findings revealed by the test score analysis of our 428 cases. It should be made clear at the outset that the sample, especially when subdivided between two races, two grades, and migrant and non-migrant status, proves to be an uncomfortably small sample for satisfactory statistical treatment. Aware of this shortcoming, the authors were at pains to establish, by approved statistical methodology, a level of confidence factor for each and every comparison. These confidence levels are reported in detail in the extended analysis.

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[2] This section contains a drastically condensed version of the anlysis of test scores made by Dr. Curtis. A more extended report of this analysis is expected to be available as a separate monograph for students especially interested in this aspect of migrant education.

a. *Chronological Age*

Migrant children proved to be chronologically older than non-migrant children at every point of comparison. This is true for both white and Negro; for both grades, five and eight, and for every quartile point in the summary tables. Another way to state this finding is to say that migrant children tend to be retarded in school progress as compared to non-migrant children. The evidence further indicates that in the interval between Grade V and Grade VIII, the older migrant children (i.e. the more retarded) tend to drop out of school at a more rapid rate than the older non-migrant children. Although observable in both racial groups, the statistical validity of these tendencies is more substantial in the white than in the Negro group.

b. *Standard Intelligence Quotients*

Various interpretations have been assigned by students in the field of intelligence testing to the results of standard intelligence tests. "Intelligence" as measured by the Kuhlmann-Finch Test is not a "native," "inherited" or "unconditioned" human capacity. On the contrary, whatever may be the child's native intellectual endowment, the "intelligence" which can be measured by the Kuhlmann-Finch Test is conditioned by many factors in the environment and experience of the child including, significantly for this study, his school experiences.

This is necessarily true because these tests were developed and largely standardized with groups of school children. These tests are deemed to be a valid indicator of general ability, native to some extent and probably largely acquired, to function effectively in school-related activities.

Comparison of the scores made by migrant and non-migrant children on the Kuhlmann-Finch Test lead to the following findings:

1. The white migrant children tend to make significantly lower scores on standard I.Q. tests than their non-migrant classmates.

2. There is no significant difference between migrant and non-migrant Negro children in the abilities revealed by standard I.Q. scores.

3. Eighth graders in these schools, both migrant and non-migrant, both white and Negro, may possess a slightly higher operational ability to learn and adjust (as measured by the I.Q. standard) than their fifth grade counterparts.

c. *Achievement in Reading*

Findings drawn from a comparison of migrant with non-migrant scores on the reading tests are as follows:

1. White migrant children are definitely retarded in reading achievement, including both reading comprehension and vocabulary, in comparison to their non-migrant classmates.

2. No clear-cut distinction has been established between the reading ability of migrant and non-migrant Negro children.

3. Migrancy tends to impair the child's chances of making relative improvement in reading ability as he moves through school. This appears to be especially likely in the case of slow-learning children.

The seriousness of the retardation in reading achievement of these migrant children is emphasized when their test scores are compared to the national norms and to the scores obtained by their non-migrant classmates.

Table 69

MEDIAN READING SCORES MADE BY MIGRANT CHILDREN RELATED TO NATIONAL NORM

	National Norm	*Migrant Median Scores*	*Per cent of Normal Progress*	*Retardation In Months*
White—Grade V	56	42.75	76.34	13.25
White—Grade VIII	86	68.50	79.65	17.50
Negro—Grade V	56	30.28	54.07	25.72
Negro—Grade VIII	86	51.99	60.45	34.01

The data in Table 69 indicate that the white migrant children of the fifth and eighth grades are retarded 13.25 months and 17.50 months respectively when their achievement is compared with median achievement of large samplings of American children. This suggests that they will be at a disadvantage in typical schools in other sections of the United States. That they are at a disadvantage when working with non-migrant children in the "Glades" schools is indicated by the fact that compared to non-migrant classmates, at the median they are retarded 10.88 months and 13.70 months respectively.

The data for the Negro children show an even greater retardation when compared with national norms.

Table 69, in fact, does not fully reflect the retardation which has taken place in the Negro migrant group. Actually eight of the 114 fifth grade Negro migrants and 23 of the 39 eighth grade Negro migrants who took the reading test did so poorly that they did not attain the minimum available score. Consequently their efforts are not included in the scores reported above. It is also true that one fifth grade Negro non-migrant and 20 eighth grade Negro non-migrants failed to make minimum scores on this test.

This relative retardation is indicative of the problem which will be faced by these migrant children if their travels bring them into schools where the general standard of achievement in reading approximates the national norm. But they differ by only a few months from their non-migrant Negro classmates in the "Glades" schools. These data suggest, on the one hand, that they are probably fairly well adjusted to the tempo of these schools, and on the other, that these schools have the very large job of raising the whole achievement level of all their Negro children, both migrant and non-migrant.

d. *Achievement in Arithmetic*

In summary, the arithmetic scores support the following findings:

1. White migrant children show definite retardation compared to non-migrant classmates in arithmetic achievement, including vocabulary and fundamental usage, whole numbers and fractions, and problems.

2. No significant difference appears between the arithmetic achievement of migrant and non-migrant Negro pupils.

3. Serious retardation, relative to national norms, is shown by the scores of both migrant and non-migrant Negro children.

4. There is evidence that migrancy is associated with retardation in the rate of progress in arithmetic learning in the interval between Grade V and Grade VIII.

e. *California Test of Personality*

The California Test of Personality is divided into two main sections: Self adjustment and social adjustment; and these sections are in turn each subdivided into six parts. These six parts are as follows:

A. Self-adjustment
   1. Self-reliance
   2. Sense of personal worth
   3. Sense of personal freedom
   4. Feeling of belonging
   5. Withdrawing tendencies (freedom from)
   6. Nervous symptoms (freedom from)

B. Social adjustment
   1. Social standards
   2. Social skills
   3. Anti-social tendencies (freedom from)
   4. Family relations
   5. School relations
   6. Community relations

As defined by its authors, the major purpose of the California Test of Personality is "to reveal the extent to which the pupil is adjusting to the problems and conditions which confront him and is developing a normal, happy and socially effective personality." They acknowledge that the personality factors which the test seeks to measure are more "intangible" than those measured by tests of capacity, skill and achievement.

We have granted in the introductory paragraphs of this chapter that the findings of this portion of our testing program must be regarded as quite tentative in view of (a) the uncertain status of psychological instruments in this field and (b) the relatively small number of children in our sample.

Therefore, we present the following findings, based on analysis of scores made on the California Test of Personality, as clues to an understanding of the impact of migrancy upon this very important area of human experience, and as a challenge to further and more definite research in this field.

1. On this test, migrant children in the fifth grade, both white and Negro, made scores indicating significantly poorer self-adjustment and social adjustment than their non-migrant classmates.
2. At the eighth grade level, no significant, over-all differences in self-adjustment or social-adjustment were discovered between migrant and non-migrant children, either white or Negro.

f. *Mooney Problem Check Lists*

The Mooney Problem Check Lists were administered to the children as an instrument designed to shed light on the comparative degree of emotional adjustment of migrant and non-migrant children. The authors of the Check Lists specify that it is not a test in the ordinary sense. They have been at pains not to establish or publish any national norms. They point out that it does not profess to measure the scope or intensity of student problems in such a way as to yield a test score. The number of problems checked should be regarded, say the authors, rather as a census count of the problems of which the student is currently aware and which he is willing to admit.

There are 210 items in the Junior High School Form, the one given to both fifth and eighth grades in this study. These are distributed equally (30 each) among seven specific adjustment areas as follows:

A. Health and physical development
B. School
C. Home and family
D. Money, work and future
E. Boy and girl relations
F. Relations to people in general
G. Self-centered concerns

The findings from analysis of the Mooney Problem Check Lists scores are as follows:

1. At the fifth grade level, migrant white children indicated that they were troubled by more problems than were their non-migrant classmates.

2. At the eighth grade level there appeared to be no significant difference between the number of problems checked by migrant and non-migrant white children.

3. Among Negro children at the fifth grade level, migrant children indicated that they were troubled by fewer problems than were their non-migrant classmates.

4. Among Negro children at the eighth-grade level, migrant children indicated that they were troubled by more problems than were their non-migrant classmates.

5. An inspection of the part scores discloses no clear-cut or consistent pattern of differences between migrant and non-migrant children in either or both races.

INTERPRETATION OF TEST SCORE FINDINGS

In conclusion, what has this entire testing program revealed to us regarding the effects of migrancy on the inner life of the migrant child?

Despite all the reservations made in the preceding pages, the authors feel that the results of the tests administered to the 143 white children have established, at least as a firm hypothesis, that migrancy has an adverse effect upon the child's normal progress through school, upon his development of basic operational intelligence, upon his achievement in the basic skills in reading and arithmetic and upon personality growth and emotional adjustment.

If we may tentatively view a composite of the measures we have used as indicative of the effects of migrancy upon the inner life of the "whole child," we may properly call attention to the fact that out of a total of 78 comparisons made by white children on the total scores, principal sub-scores, and the chronological age analysis, 70 favored the non-migrants over the migrants. In other words, at 70 out of 78 quartile points, the differences between migrants and non-migrants, whether large or small, indicate superiority of the non-migrants and relative retardation or non-adjustment on the part of the migrants. To the extent that we may properly view a composite of these measures as indicative of the effects of migrancy upon the inner life of the "whole child," the direction of these differences may be accepted as a practical certainty as favorable to non-migrant white children over migrant white children.

Viewed in the same perspective, the test results from the Negro group are far less definitive. In this case, 45 out of the 78 comparisons indicate superior achievement-adjustment on the part of the non-migrants and 33 reflect superiority on the part of the migrant group. This is insufficient to establish any clear trend. Moreover, the amounts of difference at the various comparison points are generally smaller than in the white group. Even though the Negro sample (285 cases) was approximately twice as large as the white, only 11 of the 78 principal comparisons proved statistically significant. Of these 11, seven were favorable to non-migrants and four to migrants.

The only conclusion which the authors of this report can honestly subscribe to is that no significant differences in school achievement or personal adjustment have been established between migrant and non-migrant Negro school children in the "Glades" area of Palm Beach County.

The authors have a hypothesis to explain this seeming contradiction between the findings of the two sets of test results, white and Negro. It is our belief that a part of the explanation is to be found in the significantly different school situation in which the migrants of the two racial groups find themselves.

In the white schools, as we pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, migrant children constitute a small fraction of the total school population. In the three white schools at the time the testing was done, there were approximately 150 migrant children in a total school population of 1100.

In such a situation it is understandable that the entire school program is geared to the learning capacities and personality needs of the 900 to 1000 permanent, full-time pupils. The migrants, who drift in one to three months late, who constitute a small minority even at the peak of their enrollment, and who may leave up to a month before school closes, constitute a distinct minority element in the school situation. Teachers and administrators, with the best of good will and intentions, simply are unable to give these children the kind of school experience which will keep their progress, achievement and adjustment abreast of the permanent group.

Indications from other parts of our survey are that about half of these white migrant children attend no other school. Hence this fragmentary and, for some, frustrating experience in Palm Beach County constitutes their total experience of schooling and may easily account for their retardation and lack of adjustment. The half who do attend one or more other schools during their travels in all probability find themselves in the same sort of minority situation wherever they go.

With the Negro group the situation is very different. In the 1952-53 school year the principals in the nine Negro schools of the "Glades" area reported the following enrollment figures:

Opening membership	1228
Highest migrant membership	1291
Highest total membership	2519

Here we must visualize a school system which opens in September with something like 50 per cent of its anticipated enrollment. Teachers, principals and everyone involved know that beginning about October 15, the school enrollment will start to climb rapidly as hundreds of migrant families begin to return to winter quarters. By December most of the children are enrolled in school, but late in April they will begin to drop out as their families "hit the road" again. During the peak period from about December 1 to April 30, the migrant children constitute half of the whole school population if not a little more.

In this situation it is by no means a far-fetched assumption that the classroom is geared pretty much to this cycle of influx and exodus, and it is extremely difficult to maintain an optimum tempo of learning for even the permanent group. Consequently the school experiences of the migrant and non-migrant children are not radically different, and even the learning opportunity of the two groups will be similar if not identical throughout much of the year.

The other consideration has to do with the definition of agricultural migrant used in this and all other phases of our project. It will be recalled that the definition of migrancy includes only those families and children who followed the crops within the past 12 months. This limitation was necessary for several reasons in the project as a whole. However, analysis of our Negro sample in the testing program reveals that 33 of the 116 children treated as non-migrants belong to families who have in the past "followed the crops," but not during the 12 months preceding the testing. Here, then, are 28.5 per cent of our so-called "non-migrants" who may rather recently have been migrants and may possess in greater or less degree such characteristics as result from migrancy.

A second limitation imposed by our definition is that the duration of migrancy could not be considered. It is quite conceivable, although we have no data to support the conjecture, that the real effects of migrancy upon each race would have been much more apparent if we had related our measures of achievement to some measure of the duration of the migratory status of the child's family.

SUMMARY AND COMMENT

While we have been cautious about our assertions in reporting the results of this testing program, there are certainly some implications for teaching that we can safely draw. Since the white and Negro findings differed rather widely we relate these implications separately to these two situations.

a. *Implications for teachers in situations comparable to our white sample*

There is little reason to fear that the presence of these migrant white children is adversely affecting the educational achievement of the resident white children. The scores of the resident children fluctuated around the national norms for their grades, some a bit below, some a bit above, and in the main about as we would expect in a chance selection of groups of normal children in a large American school system. Don't blame these migrants for "lowering the standards"!

The migrant children who come to your schoolroom door will probably be physically more mature, educationally less well-equipped to study independently, emotionally less secure, and troubled by more problems of more different kinds than the other children in your room. Not all will be, but the good teachers will remember that the chances are pretty good that each one may be. Therefore she will not be perturbed if some of them are.

While the differences are real in many cases, they are not so great that migrant children are to be thought different race of men. The good teacher must make adjustments for the physically retarded and the physically more mature. Our data show that some migrant children, particularly the more mature, may need a little more adjustment than the non-migrant. Remedial instruction and individual attention is needed by slow learners in every classroom. Migrant children will probably need this, too, and perhaps a little more help than the resident children who have been getting such help all year—and all their lives. All children have emotional probems at times—some slight, some serious. Our data suggest only that migrant children may have emotional problems a bit more often, and a bit more serious than children enjoying the security of a fixed home—but their problems differ only in degree and not in kind. This implies that just as the good teacher has always extended a hand of helpfulness, and a heart of understanding to the emotionally upset child, so will the good teacher of migrants expect to extend the same a bit more often.

Finally, the good teacher has always enlisted the help of her children in solving their own problems and the problems of their classmates. Our data picture these migrant children as normal enough to help themselves in a good classroom setting and picture the non-migrant children as normal enough to lend a hand socially, educationally and emotionally to the migrants.

b. *Implications for teachers in situations comparable to our Negro sample*

The most obvious conclusion is that the non-migrant and the migrant children present the same problems. There is little difference between them either in kind or degree.

The general picture is one of great need, and one that teachers alone cannot solve. The adult community needs to rededicate itself to its schools, lending its moral and active support to school programs that get children in school, build up regular attendance, and hold children till graduation. These children, both migrant and non-migrant, and their parents need to believe in the values of an education.

With so many children failing to taste success in their school-related activities, we may surmise that almost as a body they may quit trying to learn. If this is so, a heroic effort at curriculum reorganization is implied. Professional assistance, new instructional resources and community understanding are required.

Learning skills have not kept pace with physical and social maturity. These children need to be taught the skills of reading that much younger children are normally taught, but the content of their reading must appeal to their present interests. The elementary skills of arithmetic must be taught, but the application of these skills must be in terms of their present needs. In the intermediate and certainly in the upper grades, a mature content must serve as the vehicle for the mastery of elementary skills.

The school probably needs to develop an appreciation of avocational interests of a literary nature. Where books and magazines are not found in the home, are not read by parents, are seldom read to children, then the printed page is to these children a foreign language. If literary interests can be developed in the homes the work in these schools will become more nearly like the work in typical schools attended by children from homes where reading is a customary pursuit.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that, insofar as possible, regular classroom testing programs in schools receiving migrant children be conducted at a time of the year when the migrant children are in residence and in school. Where this is not possible we urge teachers to make special arrangements for administering appropriate standard tests to their migrant children. In all cases we urge that special attention be given by teachers to the needs and problems of their migrant children as revealed by test results.

2. We recommend that State Departments of Public Instruction seek to interest research or testing departments of state colleges or teacher training institutions in developing research projects designed to reveal the psychological effects of migrancy upon the mental and emotional life of the migrant child.

CHAPTER XI

An Experiment in Curriculum Building: Wisconsin

> Spanish-speaking migrant children . . . are no different from any other children in their make-up and in their behavior. One finds among them evidences of maturity and immaturity, consideration and selfishness, independence and dependence. Simply—they are children! Yet this should not imply that their pattern of living is like that of a child who lives in one community during his school years and whose family has a relatively assured place in the economic and social setup. These children *are* different. It isn't just their being migrants that makes them different; it isn't just their being working people; it isn't just their being Spanish-speaking. All these facts and many more create the need for reconsidering the whole approach to migrant education—the attitude of other citizens, isolated living in rural camps, inadequate living accommodations, the unproductive drought-ridden Southwest, the illegal entrance of "wetbacks," the weak enforcement of child labor laws and others . . . .

THESE WORDS embody the central conclusion reached by the staff of an experimental summer school for Spanish-American migrant children which was conducted for six weeks during the summer of 1953 in the Oak Center School near Waupun, Wisconsin. It was sponsored by the Wisconsin State Department of Public Instruction, the Wisconsin Commission on Human Rights, the Wisconsin Welfare Council, the Wisconsin Migrant Committee and the Waupun Council on Human Relations. Financial contributions were made by several other groups including the National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. Although this experimental school was neither initiated nor directed by the Research Project Board, we have embodied its findings as part of this report with permission of the sponsors because of its relevance to the subject of curriculum adaptation discussed generally in Chapter VII.[1]

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[1] A more complete report of this project may be had from Dr. William C. Kahl, State Department of Public Instruction, Madison, Wisconsin. It contains in amplified form the material summarized here, plus an extended bibliography and a language analysis dealing with Spanish-English language problems.

Miss Marian Hull, instructor in teacher education, Northwestern College, Orange City, Iowa, and Miss Delores Brown, graduate teaching assistant in Spanish, University of Wisconsin, staffed this experimental project. There were 22 children enrolled in the school, ranging in age from five to 12 years. Major objectives of the project were:

1. To provide a meaningful and worthwhile educational experience for migrant children based upon their common interests and needs.

2. To develop units of instructional materials which may be used in regular classrooms with migrant children.

3. To determine the types of material which would more adequately foster the educational growth of the migrant child.

4. To discover a potential contribution which migrant children could make toward the enrichment of schools in which they are enrolled.

5. To explore the possibilities of a summer educational program to fill in the gaps which migrancy has created in the school experiences of the children.

The report of the summer school staff contains personality sketches of each of the 22 children. The three which follow are typical.

Manuela was a skinny, undersized girl who looked younger than her 11 years. Her size and poor or missing lunches were evidence of malnourishment. She had a third-year reading ability. Her sense of rhythm was remarkable and she proved to be a leader in the group singing without being noticeably so. She was high strung and under great nervous tension. She seemed willing to be dominated by Cristina.

Nicolás was a six-year-old who was just beginning to understand English. A good-natured, happy-go-lucky child, a wiggle-worm, he was never where he was expected to be and was always separated from his properties. One day Nicolás went on the bus in a complete circuit in the opposite direction from his home. Unconcernedly he got out of the bus and into the car to go back home.

Pepe was a bright-eyed boy, nine or 10 years of age. He had a first-year reading ability. His pride in the preference for speaking English was noticeable. He attended school only when he was not needed in the fields. He was cooperative and helpful.

Further emphasizing that migrant children are different in degree although basically similar to all children, the report defines the following special needs of migrant children:

1. Their need for the *feeling of security* is great. It is hard for any child to make the adjustment necessary when moving to a new community. He must become acquainted with new teachers and new classmates, new regulations and requirements. But when a child must make this adjustment three to 10 times a year and to a different culture group, how his feeling of security is shaken! This feeling of insecurity may bring about a great lack of confidence in his own ability and so make the child appear slower than he really is. The child must know that he is accepted and liked just as he is. The classroom must attempt to supply a security which he is not receiving elsewhere.

2. The child must be given a *feeling of belongingness.* Much can be done to prepare resident children for the arrival of the migrant children. An understanding of what the migrants contribute to the economy of the community will help. A study of Spanish and Mexican culture will give them an appreciation of their worth. The teacher must strive to see that each child feels that he is a part of the activity and belongs to the group.

3. The need *to know* or *acquire information.* Perhaps this need must be aroused. The parents of these children are apt to be very busy and may stifle the natural curiosity of the child even more than other parents do. There is often little felt need for the acquiring of information. The children do not see the necessity for learning.

4. The need *to experience success.* Since these children will often have made less progress than other children of their age, they are deprived of the feeling of success. The teacher has a special task in discovering and creating situations in which the child can succeed.

Significant findings of this intimate educational experience with a group of Spanish-American migrants may be summarized as follows:

1. The language situation is not an impossible barrier.
2. Spanish-American migrant children are teachable.
3. The accent of the children may call for special work.
4. The children need to be given the opportunity to read and to speak fluently.

5. The ability to comprehend reading material is generally very much retarded.

6. Their ability in word attack skills may be undeveloped.

7. A real appreciation of music may be found in these children.

8. The children may have a good sense of color.

9. The children may have great difficulty in their understanding and reading of maps. It was found that even though they had travelled a great deal, they had had no share in planning the trip or watching a map as they travelled from place to place.

10. The child must feel that deficiencies in skills are something to discover and correct, not to hide.

11. Although there is a great need for the children to know how to use money and to use mathematical skills, these skills may be totally undeveloped.

12. When a child moves from school to school, the accumulating of materials a child ordinarily supplies may be very difficult.

13. The children may have a poorly developed sense of organization and no practice in planning because they travel from school to school.

14. They do not see the completion of one process because of their continual moving. They may know that the cotton boll is picked, but do not realize that cotton becomes a fiber which in turn becomes the dress they wear.

15. The children do not call themselves Americans. Despite their American citizenship, they tend to think of themselves as "Mexicans."

16. Respect for personal property and the rights of others may have to be taught. Because of their living conditions the sharing of trucks and personal belongings, these children do not always have regard for certain property rights of others.

17. The older child feels he has the right to dominate his younger brother or sister. It seems a part of their culture that the older member can give orders and expect obedience and can claim anything the younger child has.

18. The teeth of the Spanish-Americans who attended the school were unusually good.

19. It would be well to check for tuberculosis as soon after their arrival as possible if that has not already been done.

THE DAILY PROGRAM

In formulating the daily schedule many factors had to be taken into account: the ages of the children (from five to 12); the number attending (from six to over 20); their reading ability (the range being from no ability to second year and better); the children's facility in English; the qualifications of the two teachers and the one senior high school assistant; the limitations of the one-room school; the need of the children for contacts with residents in Waupun; the value of knowing about and utilizing community facilities; and many additional factors. The general pattern decided upon was to spend the mornings at school and the afternoons in a Waupun park or on a planned visit.

The morning program began with a 15-minute music period for all the children. They learned songs in English and in Spanish. They were then divided into four groups for the rest of the morning's activities.

The kindergarten pupils had a readiness program incorporating drill, stories, art work, organized and free play periods. Since most of the children spoke Spanish, specific attention was directed toward the learning of the English language.

The beginning reading group did their reading and correlated work in English.

Those children with a first grade reading ability had a story and some phonetic work in Spanish, but did their reading, experience charts, and art work with supervision in English. It was refreshing to note the enjoyment they reflected in their contact with books.

The group with a second year and better reading ability participated in a study unit called "Traveling We Go." This was conducted entirely in English. Spanish was used in their language study for drawing parallels and noting contrasts between the two languages. It was the opinion of the Wisconsin Project staff that the migrant children could be placed in regular classroom situations, and that the individual and group needs could thus be met more realistically in most instances.

Lunch was eaten at the school and was followed by a short rest period. Afterwards all went into Waupun for play with the Anglo children in the park or for tours to various places. There were also some out-of-doors art activities in the afternoon.

"TRAVELING WE GO"

Perhaps the most creative aspect of the Wisconsin school was the development of the curriculum unit, "Traveling We Go." It is cited in this report as an illustration of good and imaginative curriculum adaptation to the interest and needs of migrant children.

a. *How to use this resource unit*

This unit was prepared to furnish suggestions for the teacher in her pre-planning in those situations where migrants have become a part of the school enrollment. It may be used with one grade, a combination of grades, or in a typical eight-grade rural school.

It was especially designed to suggest materials and activities of high interest at many reading levels so that those with a low ability in reading may work with those of high ability, with growth at all levels. To be most effective, this unit should be used with children who have a minimum of better than first grade reading ability and an age of at least eight years.

"Traveling We Go" will serve best when adapted to fit each particular situation. It should be thought of as one over-all unit—the story of the migrant child's work and travels—but containing as many smaller units as needed to fit the experiences of the migrants in the particular school for the time they stay. They may "travel" from one smaller unit to another; from the unit on cotton to one on citrus fruits, on to sugar beets—or to cherries, truck farming, etc. Thus it will be possible to finish at least one unit before the child moves on to another school.

b. *Significance of the topic*

Learning always has more significance when it is based on experience. Because this study is based upon the experiences of the migrant child, he, whose deficiencies are often too apparent, becomes a source of information. The migrant child has traveled widely. He has seen at first hand the various crops of our country. He has had a wealth of experiences. This unit, in giving him the opportunity to share, will increase his feeling of worth, and help resident children respect migrant children and recognize migrant workers as vital community helpers.

Through this "travel" approach, the geography of our country will have a richer meaning even to the child who travels vicariously. It may lead, also, to the creation of a new awareness of opportunities afforded by travel, so that the future travels of the migrant child will have more significance to him.

c. *Outline of Content*

Traveling: Overview of the general geography of the United States; overview of the products and industries of the United States; preparing for the journey (possibly the home of the migrant in the South as the starting point); plotting the route; sights along the way; the geography of the regions through which the route passes.

To the cotton fields: The cotton belt—climate and growing season; the planting of the cotton; the cotton plant; harvesting—by hand, by machine; ginning; from fiber to thread to finished product.

To the citrus fruit orchard: Climate; the trees; their care—cultivation, spraying, at frost time; the harvest; marketing.

On to the sugar beet field: Climate; planting; weeding and blocking; harvesting; at the refinery.

The journey continued: Other stops along the way.

d. *Possible Outcomes*

Understanding

1. The need for and the worth of all types of labor.
2. The relationship between growing season, soil, rainfall, temperature, and type of crop grown.
3. The processes through which various crops go.

Attitudes

1. Appreciation of our United States.
2. Appreciation of knowledge to be gained through travel.
3. Respect for all types of useful work.
4. Respect for the rights and opinions of others.

Skills and Abilities

1. Ability to speak English fluently and correctly.
2. Ability to comprehend reading material at a higher level than before.

3. Ability to spell the words needed in order to carry on the work of the unit.
4. Ability to interpret ideas through creative work.
5. Ability to read maps.
6. Ability to use democratic procedures.
7. Ability to use correct form in writing letters.
8. Skill in using various sources of information.
9. Habits of neatness and accuracy.
10. Ability to understand and recognize geographical features of the United States.

SUMMARY AND COMMENT

We are particularly pleased to report the experimental summer school which is described in this chapter. It represents a combination of the factors which we believe are essential to real progress toward improving the educational experiences of migrant children. It was specific. It was practical. It reflected a combination of good will on the part of a local community, cooperation of several state and local agencies, and the application of professional skills to the technical aspects of the problem.

Inspired by this example as well as by the findings of the field research project, the Migrant Research Project Board has developed a demonstration project as a follow-up of the work already accomplished. Financial assistance for this project has been forthcoming from the Doris Duke Foundation, the National Sharecroppers Fund, the Alliance for the Guidance of Rural Youth, and the Committee for Relief and Reconstruction of the Congregational Christian Churches.

The new project consists of the employment of a supervisory specialist in migrant education to work at the county staff level in Palm Beach County, Florida, and Northampton County, Virginia. This person will divide her time between the two counties in about the same proportions as the migrants divide theirs, and she will move on a similar timetable. She will work with county and local school staffs on problems of enrollment and attendance, curriculum adaptation, community understanding, and other related problems. The project is being launched with the full approval of the county school boards and the supervisory specialist will actually be employed by the school boards, with funds provided by the project sponsors.

It is the hope of the Migrant Research Project Board that two or three years hence the sequel to this report may appear containing the findings, conclusions and recommendations of this very practical piece of action research.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is quite impossible to name all the persons who have been helpful to the Migrant Research Project Board and Director through consultation, interview, participation on local advisory committees and in many other ways. Our hearty appreciation is extended to all who have contributed in any way to the success of this project and especially to the persons listed below. To keep the list of acknowledgments within bounds of space we have arbitrarily omitted all local school principals and teachers, a great many of whom were most helpful in each of the study centers.

Although many of those mentioned below were influential in the determination of methodology, analysis, findings and recommendations, none of them may be held personally responsible for any portion of this report. It is the sole responsibility of the Migrant Research Project Board and the project director.

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Rev. C. Emerson Smith, Virginia Council of Churches

APPENDIX B: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RELATED STUDIES

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APPENDIX B: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RELATED STUDIES—CONTINUED

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APPENDIX C

Research Project on
Education of Migrant Children

NCALL — Form 2
December 1952

MIGRANT FAMILY SCHEDULE

Interviewer ______________

Schedule No. ______________

Interview date ______________

Informant ______________

GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Name of Family Head ______________________________ (Last) (First)

2. Present address: Street No. or Rural Route ______________________

City or town ______________________ State ______________________

3. Home-base address: Street No. or Rural Route ______________________

City or town ______________________ State ______________________

4. Present residence:

a. Type		b. Ownership	
House	__________	Public-owned camp	__________
Cabin	__________	Assoc-owned camp	__________
Trailer	__________	Owned by grower	__________
Tent	__________	Privately owned & rented by migrant	__________
Other		Owned by migrant	__________
__________ (Specify)		Other	__________ (Specify)

5. Home-base residence:

a. Type		b. Ownership	
House	__________	Public-owned camp	__________
Cabin	__________	Assoc-owned camp	__________
Trailer	__________	Owned by grower	__________
Tent	__________	Privately owned & rented by migrant	__________
Other		Owned by migrant	__________
__________ (Specify)		Other	__________ (Specify)

6. How many weeks at present residence? ______________________

7. Race: White ______ Negro ______ Indian ______ Oriental ______

8. Nationality background: Old American _____ Spanish-American _____
Other ______________________________ (Specify)

9. Citizenship: American _____ Other ______ ______________(Specify)

10. Language ordinarily spoken in the home:
By parents __________________ By children __________________

11. Is English spoken:
by father Y N
by mother Y N
by children Y N

12. Is English understood:
by father Y N
by mother Y N
by children Y N

13. Agricultural migrants as a family how many years _____ ___________

14. Inventory of present household members:
(Insert appropriate number)
Father _______
Mother _______
Children _______
Other relatives _______
Non-relatives _______
Total _______

Here list "other relatives":

Here list "non-relatives":

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

34. Name of school presently attended or which would be attended:
Grade school _______________ Distance from residence _____ (miles)
High school _______________ Distance from residence _____ (miles)

35. Is bus transportation available? To Grade school Y N. To High school Y N. If so, how far must children walk to bus _______ (miles)

EDUCATIONAL ATTITUDES

36. How high would you like to have your children go to school?
Boys: 4th _____ 8th _____ H.S. _____ Coll. _____
Girls: 4th _____ 8th _____ H.S. _____ Coll. _____

37. Do you feel that your children are welcome in schools of this community?
By the teachers. Y N. By the other children: Y N.

EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

(Complete for parents and all children in home. Begin with eldest.)

	15 Age	16 Sex	17 Birth Date		18 Age Started to school	19 No. of yrs. in school	20 Grade last att'd	21 Is child now in school	22 No. of weeks att'd (past 12 mos.)	23 No. of schools att'd (past 12 mos.)	24 If not in school date last att'd		25 Expects to re-enter
			Mo.	Yr.							Mo.	Yr.	
Father		M											
Mother		F											
Children by name 1.								Y N					
2.								Y N					Y N
3.								Y N					Y N
4.								Y N					Y N
5.								Y N					Y N
6.								Y N					Y N
7.								Y N					Y N
8.								Y N					Y N
9.								Y N					Y N
10.								Y N					Y N

PRESENT FAMILY WORK SITUATION
(for the past 7 days)

26 Principal reason given for non-attendance at present	27 Began Ag. work at what age	28 Presently working on	29	30 How many days worked in past 7	31 How many hours worked in past 7 days	32 Rate of pay		33 Total earnings of past 7 days
		Crop	Operation			¢	per	

38. Do you feel that your children have been more welcome in other schools? Y N. If so, where: At your home-base ______________

Elsewhere ______________ (Specify)

39. Have you ever met any of your children's present teachers? Y N

Where: At the school ____ In town ____ In your home ____ Other ____ (Specify)

40. Do you feel that the teachers give your children a fair amount of time, attention and help? Y N

41. Do you yourself feel welcome in this community?

In the stores: Y N On the streets: Y N In the churches: Y N

42. Have you ever felt unwelcome here? If so, why do you think you were unwelcome? Cite examples:

Family migration history (for the past 12 months)
(List locations from present backward for 12 months)

43 Location		44 No. of wks. in residence	45 Crops or other employment	46 Rate of pay		47 No. of persons working	48 Approx. No. of days worked	49 Estimated daily earnings family	50 Estimated Total Earnings
State	Community			¢	per				

51. What is the best thing you can suggest that would give your children a better chance for a good education?

52. Further comments of informant:

53. Observations by interviewer:

APPENDIX D

Research Project on
Education of Migrant Children

NCALL—Form 5
January, 1953

TEACHER SCHEDULE

Interviewer ______________

Schedule No. ______________
Interview date ______________

General Information

1. Name of School ____

2. Name of Teacher ____
(Last) (First)

3. Location of School:
Street or Rural Route ____
City or town ______________________ State ______________

4. Teacher's residence: Local _____ Commutes by week _____ Commutes daily _________ Commuting distance in miles_________

5. Grades presently teaching: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
(Encircle appropriate Nos.)

6. If teaching in Senior High or Junior High, list subjects:

_________ _________ _________ _________ _________

7. Present teaching load:

	(Elementary) No. of pupils in each grade		(High School) No. of pupils in each class		
	Resident	Migrant	Name of subject	Resident	Migrant
			Home Room		
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
Total			Total		

8. In your experience with migrant children in school, how would you rate them in respect to the following important characteristics:

	Way above average	Slightly above average	Average	Slightly below average	Way below average	Too varied to classify
a. Mental ability						
b. Desire to learn						
c. Desire to be in school						
d. Respect for property						
e. Truthfulness						
f. Cleanliness						
g. Respect for law						
h. Ability to adjust						
i. Self-reliance						
j. Self-control						
k. Feeling of belonging						
l. Cooperativeness						
m. Citizenship						
n. Religious feeling						

9. What problems have you encountered in connection with the presence of migrant children in your classes:

	Serious problem	Slight problem	No problem	Don't know
a. Overcrowding of room and facilities				
b. Overload on your time and attention				
c. Classroom discipline				
d. Playground discipline				
e. Parental indifference to education				
f. Uncleanliness of bodies and clothes				
g. Absence				
h. Antagonism from resident children				
i. Belligerence toward resident children				
j. Retardation: In general				
(Specifically) k. reading				
l. writing				
m. arithmetic				
n. spelling				
o. geography				
p. social studies				

q. Other problems (specify)

10. Please describe any modifications which you have made because of the presence of migrants in your classes, in respect to:
    a. Your selection of teaching materials
    b. Your methods of instruction
    c. Your daily teaching plan
    d. Your playground procedures
    e. Your extra-curricular program
    f. In any other regard (Specify)

11. Do you believe it preferable for migrant children to be?
    (a) grouped together in a separate class or room ________________
    (b) integrated in classes with resident children ________________
    What is your reason for this judgment:

12. Do you believe it preferable for migrant children to be?
    (a) located in classes according to scholastic attainment ____________
    (b) located according to their chronological age ____________
    What is your reason for this judgment?

13. What illustrations can you cite from your experience or observation which seem to you fairly to illustrate the nature of and the intensity of the educational problems of migrant children?

14. What suggestions have you for improving the educational opportunities and experiences of migrant children in your community?

Research Project on Education
of Migrant children

Supplement A
to NCALL. Form 5

TEACHER'S TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE

Supplement to Teacher Schedule No.____________

1. Teacher's Name ______________________________
(Last) (First)

2. High School attended ______________________________
Year of Graduation ______________________________

3. College attended ______________________________
No. of years attended ________ Degree ________ Year ________

4. Advance degrees: Degree ______ Institution ______ Yr. ______
Degree ______ Institution ______ Yr. ______

5. Record of teaching experience:
Total number of years of teaching ________
No. of years teaching in this state ________
No. of years teaching in this community ________
No. of years teaching in this school ________
No. of years teaching in this grade ________

APPENDIX E

Migrant Pupil Record Card

NCALL Project

FAMILY SCHEDULE NO.. ____________ Form 7—7-53

NAME______________________ SCHOOL______________
(Last) (First)

RACE OR NATIONALITY__________ SEX________ PLACE OF BIRTH______________
(City) (State)

DATE OF BIRTH______________DATE ENTERED FIRST GRADE______________
Yr. Mo. Day Yr. Mo. Day

PARENT'S NAME ______________________ NO. OF YRS. ENROLLED ____________
(Last) (First)

1952-53 RECORD: GRADE ATTENDED______________

DATE ENROLLED ______________DATE WITHDRAWN ______________
Mo. Day Mo. Day

NO. OF DAYS PRESENT______________NO. OF DAYS ABSENT______________

IN TEACHER'S JUDGMENT, IF PLACED STRICTLY ACCORDING TO SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT, THIS CHILD WOULD HAVE BEEN PLACED (IN 1952-53) IN

GRADE______________